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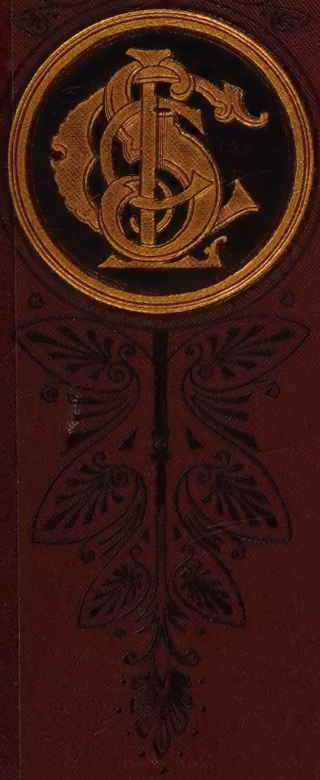

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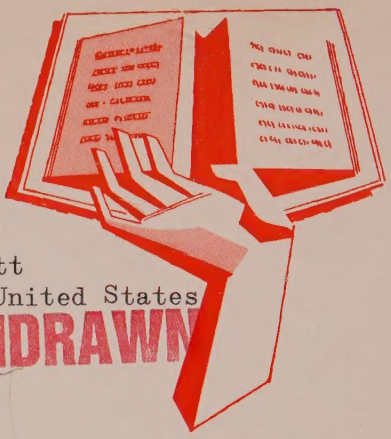

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HISTORY

OF

THE UNITED STATES.

WRITTEN FOR THE

CHAUTAUQUA READING CIRCLES.

BY

EDWARD E. HALE.

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1887.

The required books of the C. L. S. C. are recommended by a Council of six. It must, however, be understood that recommendation does not involve an approval by the Council, or by any member of it, of every principle or doctrine contained in the book recommended.

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PREFACE.

THE preparation of a history of the United States for the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle has been a real pleasure. Of course the council understand, when they place as short a book as this in the hands of readers, that those readers will wish to refer to the more full studies which illustrate either the general subject or special details which will have interest to different persons in different localities. The master work of Mr. Bancroft, which brings the history of America down to the adoption of the Constitution, will be—or should be—within reach, in some public library, of each of our readers in America. *The Popular History of the United States*, edited under the masterly care of Mr. Sydney H. Gay, one of the first of American historians, brings the history down to the end of the Civil War. It is the work of many writers, of whom Mr. Gay is easily the chief, and it may be referred to as an authority of the first class. In each neighborhood local histories of value will be found; and it was one of not the least advantages of the series of centennial celebrations which covered the years from 1863 to 1883 that they called the attention of students in every part of the United States to the materials yet to be found for the proper understanding of the history of the country. Such local histories should be sought for by our readers wherever they are, and will make an agreeable accompaniment to the study of the general history which is now in their hands.

It is quite safe to say that we understand the history of our own country better than it was ever understood before; and

while there are still many things concealed which we should be glad to know, time, as it passes, uncovers more which were hidden by the prudence or timidity of the past, so that, on the whole, we are gainers in the matter of history as time goes by. It must be confessed that the habit of the American mind has not, on the whole, been favorable for the writers of history, who would collect those suggestions or illustrations by which we make the past appear on our canvas in the light of to-day. The first settlers in the country were, perhaps, too much engaged with the hard duties of pioneers, to be able to give much time to the description of those picturesque and romantic surroundings which their successors would be so glad to look upon. It happens, oddly enough, that it is more often from the rapid sketch of some traveler, who is not bound down by the cares of pressing daily duty, that we are apt to catch what the artists would call the broken lights which give distinctness, vividness, and even interest, to the picture of the past which we are trying to re-create. Fortunately for us, it happens, in some instances, that the work of such travelers can be found. In particular we owe to the French writers, of the period of the Revolution and of the generation which follows it, some hints on the method of daily life in America which it would be difficult to gain from the more studied and serious business papers which our fathers have left to us.

It is not too late for us to express the wish and the hope that the students in the Chautauqua course will thus undertake the preservation of the materials of local history in the neighborhoods in which they live. There can scarcely be named a part of the United States—perhaps there cannot be named a part of the United States—where careful conversation with the aged, careful exploration of the public records, and careful investigation of files of old letters, or of old books of account, would not bring to light much which would have historic value for the writer, whoever he may be, who is to undertake the work in another generation which has been undertaken in the book which is now in the reader's hands.

The writing of our history is no longer the gathering together of the traditions of a few colonists landing from Europe on the eastern shore of America. The nation of to-day is a nation which is to seek its origin not only in the history of Great Britain and Ireland; but in the history of France, of Spain, of Holland, of Germany, of Russia, and of Mexico. The early efforts at colonization have been made from different motives, by men of wholly different training, and in very different ways. The original memoirs and authorities which explain them are to be found in very different places and languages. Nothing can be more fascinating than to study such origins in the early documents which still exist, or in the traditions which will not exist long. And we cannot but recommend such study to the faithful student of the history of the United States.

There are some points in our history which will always, probably, be more or less doubtful, and be matters for discussion among conscientious students. But there are many points, which would have been spoken of thus doubtfully a generation ago, which may now be considered as quite definitely settled. The first of these is the arrival of the Northmen on our coast at the end of the tenth century of the Christian era. Even when Mr. Irving wrote his *Life of Columbus*, such a discovery of America seemed matter rather for legend, and perhaps only of fancy. But the reader of American history to-day should understand that the fact may be considered as settled beyond doubt, and that the questions which arise are simply questions of detail as to what may have been the farthest point gained by these Northern explorers. On the other side of the continent it has been made equally clear, by the investigations of the Californian antiquaries, that vessels from Asia could have arrived on the western coast in any of the centuries from Marco Polo's time down, and, probably, for many centuries before. All the old questions about the peopling of this continent from any stock different from the stocks which peopled Europe and Asia may thus be dismissed where they belong. The opening of

the archives of different European countries to investigation throws more and more light on such fictions as have surrounded the voyages of Verrazano and others, and, on the whole, the history of the mythical century, as we have ventured to call it, is better understood now than it was fifty years ago.

Of the colonial history proper, careful studies were early made in each of the colonies. But, with the passion for scientific historical investigation which belongs to our time, a great deal is done in every year to make those histories more human, if we may so say, and intelligible. Such work, for instance, as Mr. Weeden's great book on the *History of Commerce* brings under one point of view subjects of which, in the past, the study has been only fragmentary, disjointed, and unsatisfactory in proportion.

Of the Revolution, of its causes, its methods, and its results, we certainly know much more than Judge Marshall knew, or even George Washington, or any of the men of their times. The governments in possession of European archives are no longer coy about opening to students the papers in their possession. We know, for instance, that George the Third was his own enemy, and the enemy of Great Britain. We know something of the divided councils of England, and of the causes which led to division; of the policies of France and Spain and the other countries of Europe. We are able to make a study much more complete than was in the power of Mr. Botta, Mr. Grahame, Judge Marshall, or any other of the earlier historians.

In the study of our own political history there is unquestionably great difficulty. One is tempted to say that the American statesman has a habit of secretiveness which did not belong to Sully, or to the Walpoles, or even the Pitts, of other generations. One is tempted to say that because certain measures cannot be fully discussed before the great audience of all the people of America, the real discussion of them is left to the privacy of confidential language, leaving no sign behind. It seems as if this happened more often than in

Europe. But perhaps this is what historians always say of two or three generations before the time they write in. This is certain, that with the passage of years we obtain more and more side lights, sometimes from very unexpected sources, as to the methods, and even as to the actions, of the men who came most into the public eye in the first generations of the Federal Union. It is more and more certain that these men were not as important as they thought themselves, and as their times thought them. It is more and more certain that the People of the United States governs the United States. It directs the fortunes of the United States even where the magistrates of its election, who are after all but the servants of its will, have not rightly comprehended what is the true destiny of the republic. It is certainly a curious and instructive truth that the three great victories of America, in the first thirty years after the formation of the Federal Constitution, were victories in no sort premeditated by the chief magistrates of America, and to which it may be said their administration of government did not in any way contribute. The creation of the great industry by which cotton was raised and sent over the world—the opening and maintenance of the immense maritime prosperity of thirty years—the marvelous emigration by which the valley of the Mississippi has been made the store-house from which the world is fed—these are the three important features of the first fifty years of American history. In regard to each of them we may say that the administration which had charge of the "government" of the country knew little of the causes which led to it, or of the methods by which it was developed. So far as it could it did much to check them. But the People is wiser than any man of the people; and the People, under the direction of the God who always smiles on well-meant endeavor, carried them through.

The careful reader will see, in more than one instance, that the same subject has been referred to, and even the same statement repeated, in different chapters of this book. It is proper to say here that this is not an accident or oversight,

but that this repetition of statement has been decided on, as, on the whole, convenient to such readers as will have this book in hand. It would, of course, have been quite in my power to have referred the reader from chapter to chapter, or from page to page, for the details which I have preferred to repeat. But my object has been to present to him, what he is told, in the way easiest for him ; and I have been willing to sacrifice the appearance of elaborate finish, if I could give to him the information which he wished, in the form most convenient to him. EDWARD E. HALE.

ROXBURY, MASS., May 5, 1887.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

First Voyages of Discovery.

Northmen's Discoveries—The Icelandic Accounts—Life in Rhode Island—Expedition Around Cape Cod and Into Massachusetts Bay—Skraellings—Return to Greenland—Another Expedition Entered Buzzard's Bay—Skeleton in Armor—Columbus's Discovery—Charter to John and Sebastian Cabot—Venetian Discoveries—Mythical Period of History—Juan Ponce de Leon's Discovery of Florida—Verazzano—De Soto Landed in Florida—De Soto's Death and Burial in the Mississippi River—Failure of Spanish Attempt to Colonize Florida—Rumors and Expeditions in Search of Great Wealth in Northern Mexico—Settlement of Santa Fé and St. Augustine—Landing of Sir Francis Drake on Pacific Coast—Huguenots—Sir John Hawkins—Menendez—Revenge on the Spaniards—Storming of San Mateo—Defeat of the Spanish—Lane's Settlement at Roanoke—That Island Abandoned—Arrival of Sir Richard Grenville—First English Child Born in What is Now the United States—Gosnold's Expedition and Settlement of Cuttyhunk.

THE earliest discovery of the coast of the United States was made by the Northmen. These bold navigators, having made themselves quite at home in Iceland, crossed to Greenland, and early in the eleventh century one of their expeditions pressed farther south and reached the coasts of Nova Scotia and, probably, of Massachusetts. The only narrative which is preserved is in poetical language and has in it the elements of legend. There is great controversy in regard to it and to its claims as history. At the present moment, however, the balance of opinion among well-informed people

supposes that an expedition led by Leif, a Norse prince, in the year 1000 of the Christian era, passed as far south as what is now known as Mount Hope Bay, at the head of Narragansett Bay, in Rhode Island.

The Icelandic accounts go into a good deal of detail as to the aspect of the shores, and different enthusiasts point out one and another spot which they consider to be well described now. The most definite sign, however, which is given as to their locality is an intimation that, on the shortest day of the year, the sun rose at half-past seven in the morning and set at half-past four. If this observation had been made with mathematical correctness, and with instruments of perfection, the latitude of the point where they spent the winter would be 41 degrees, 24 minutes and 10 seconds, which is about that of Mount Hope Bay. Their own phrase is, "There came no frost in the winter to this country, and the grass hardly withered there." They thought the nature of the country was so good that cattle would not require house feeding. With our more luxurious agriculture this seems a remarkable statement to make of southern New England. But it is quite within the memory of living men that horses were left without shelter in the open air through the winter in Rhode Island.

Leif, having determined to spend the winter here, divided his company into two parties, one of which should be a party of explorers, while the other watched the country. They took turns in this duty. A German named Tyrker returned from one of these expeditions in great excitement. At first the Icelanders thought he was out of his mind. But he said at last, in their own language, "I have not been far off, but still I have something new to tell. I find vines and grapes." "Is that true, my foster father?" said Leif. "True it is," he said. "I grew up in a land where there is no want of either vines or grapes."

This is the picturesque account which is given of the discovery of grapes in the new land, which gave it the name of Vinland. This statement has been thought to show that the

explorers must have come well down into the New England region, and verifies the statement made with regard to latitude. The discovery proved to them to be an important one. They gathered the grapes in great quantities and heaped them upon the stern boat of their vessel. They filled the hold of the vessel with timber which would be valuable in Greenland, and with this cargo returned home in the spring.

In fact, as Dr. Gray informs us, the Fox grape of the New England shore may be traced as far north as Massachusetts, and, possibly, in New Hampshire. The *Vitis æstivalis*, which is also eatable, may be found in New Brunswick. The Frost grape, which is scarcely eatable, runs into Lower Canada. There is some doubt whether it can be found in Nova Scotia. Certainly it would be hard to load a boat with its clusters.

In the next year, the year 1002, the brother of Leif, named Thorvald, who is said to have been the ancestor of the great sculptor Thorvaldsen, repeated the voyage with a crew of thirty men. He found the booths still standing which his brother had put up, and he, as his brother had done, went into winter quarters in this pleasant land. He found salmon and other fish in those waters; and here again is an accurate description of what he would have found were he at the head of Narragansett Bay. In the spring Thorvald coasted to the westward and is supposed to have gone as far as New York, where he found another lake through which a river flowed to the sea. This is supposed to describe the Tappan-sea of the Dutch. On one occasion they saw a shed built of wood, for the housing of corn; but they saw no people.

Having remained the next winter, Thorvald started in his ship for a more extended expedition. He is supposed to have doubled Cape Cod from the south and entered Massachusetts Bay. At the head of that bay he met with natives for the first time. These natives are described as "skraellings." They were small men, and are described as the Northmen describe the Esquimaux Indians. The impression has thus been given that at this early period the coast of New England was possessed by a race which we now know only

in the Arctic regions, and subsequently dispossessed by the Algonquin race of Indians whom the English found there afterward. But of this conquest by the Algonquins no trace has been found in their legends; neither are any skeletons of Esquimaux found in the Indian burial-places of New England.

The Northmen stole upon nine skraellings unawares and captured eight of them, whom they killed in cold blood. The ninth escaped. He brought back with him his fellows to avenge the murder. The Northmen fled to their ships. After the running battle it proved that Thorvald had been wounded. He died there, and was buried, as is supposed, on a cape which looks out on Boston Bay. At his head and feet they planted crosses. They sailed back around Cape Cod to Vinland, and in the next spring they returned to Greenland. In the spring or summer of 1005 another expedition sailed, but did not succeed in finding Vinland, or, indeed, any land. But in the year 1007 a party of three ships and 140 men and women tried the adventure again. They recognized the points discovered before; they noticed islands which are supposed to have been Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, and they entered Buzzard's Bay. Here they spent their first winter. But they were not sufficiently provisioned, and one party undertook to return to Iceland. They never reached it, however, and it was rumored that they were reduced into slavery in Ireland. The other two ships sailed farther on and made other explorations. The travelers made a settlement which might have been permanent but for an attack of the natives. They are described as being black and fierce, with coarse hair, large eyes and broad cheeks. The expression "broad cheeks" is a good description of the American Indians. After one and another skirmish and severe attack their colony was given up in the year 1010.

In the next year Freydis, an energetic woman who had been in the early expeditions, led out another colony and arrived at the place, which by this time was well known, where Leif had built his booths. But, if the Saga is to be

believed, the party having quarreled, more than half of them were murdered in a horrible treachery, and with the spring the survivors returned to Greenland or Iceland. With this piece of savage barbarism the history of ten years of colonization ends somewhat suddenly.

The whole history is so romantic that every effort has been made to corroborate it from the indications now or recently to be found in New England. Of these the most interesting besides those which have been mentioned was the discovery near Fall River of the "skeleton in armor," which gives the subject of one of Mr. Longfellow's early poems. But, by a misfortune, this skeleton and the armor were burned in a museum before critical attention had been called to the Sagas which gave us this description. For some time it was supposed that there was another monument of the Northmen in the wind-mill still standing on the little public square at Newport; but more careful investigation showed that this was built as a wind-mill in the second generation of English settlements. There remains to be noticed here a curiously inscribed rock on the shore in Berkley, in Massachusetts, near the place where it is supposed the Northmen settled. But the marks heavily cut in this granite, although evidently the work of men, resemble so closely the marks on Indian blankets, and even on rocks in different parts of the United States, that no real argument can be drawn from them.

There are many traditions existing in early European history of voyages made across the Atlantic, in which it is supposed that the explorers discovered a new land. But for the purposes of the history of the United States, which is what engages us, these need not be examined in detail. It is supposed that the success of the Norse adventure was one of the encouragements which Columbus had for the great discovery in which, on the 11th of October, 1492, he revealed, for practical purposes, the western continent to the Old World. His success was followed by the grant of Henry VII. in England of a charter to John and Sebastian Cabot to sail westward to attempt a similar discovery. It is now quite freely said that

the French fishermen of the coast of Biscay had been in the habit of taking fish off the banks of Newfoundland long before that time. It may well be that in such fishing they were acquainted with one and another point on the north-eastern coast of America where they could land and dry their fish; and it may be that such points were not considered of any great importance, as they offered but little that was tempting for colonization. Whether the Cabots had any information from such persons is not known. What is certain is that as early as the 10th of August, 1497, there is a memorandum in King Henry's private accounts that ten pounds was to go to "hym that found the new isle." On the 24th of the same month the Venetian ambassador in England wrote home that a "Venetian who is a very good mariner, and has good skill in discovering new islands, has returned safe, and has found two very large and fertile islands; having likewise found the seven cities four hundred leagues from England on the west. In the spring his majesty means to send him with fifteen or twenty ships." These dates are given because they are certain dates. What is very perplexing in the narrative is that an early map is found in which it is distinctly said that Cabot made this discovery in the year of the birth of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, 1494; three years earlier than the date given in the account book and in the Venetian letter. But this map cannot be regarded as of the very first authority, because in another of its inscriptions it says that the great discovery was made in the year 1544. The date as given by Hakluyt, the great English historian, is 1497, and this date must be taken as the historical date when the Cabots made their landing which they marked as Prima Vista. So far as may be inferred from the small map, which is the earliest representing their voyage, they struck the continent somewhere near the eastern point of the Island of Cape Breton, not a great way from the fortress afterward so distinguished in American history, Louisburg. The island of Newfoundland, which might seem to bear the name of being the first point of discovery, was observed in one of these

early voyages, but it is not the point which is indicated on the Cabots' map as Prima Vista.

From this time, at the end of the fifteenth century, to the beginning of the seventeenth, come in a hundred years which have been well called the mythical period of our history. It is in those hundred years, almost mysterious, that poets might place their imagined histories, and that the really adventurous novelist might run wild without much chance of correction. It is even a matter of question who first laid down the outline of the present coast of the United States. Sebastian Cabot probably made a voyage far south. He went as far as 36 degrees of northern latitude, which is about the latitude of Southern Florida. But although he landed in some places and found copper among the natives, and although he captured some of them, he left no outline of the shore which is now known. Good authorities even doubt whether he ever sailed south of the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

The first narrative of any adventure in which we know Europeans to have made any considerable progress in the United States of to-day, after the time of the Northmen, is that by Juan Ponce De Leon. He had heard legends in the West India Islands of a fountain of perpetual youth which was to be found in Florida. That peninsula had not then received its name. He sailed from Porto Rico with three ships, in March, 1512, to discover it; and, passing one of the little "keys" on the south of Florida on Easter Sunday, which the Spaniards call "The Feast of Flowers," he named the land Florida because it was covered with flowers. His account of the new discovery represented it as a very important one, and he was made its first governor on condition that he would colonize it, which, in 1521, he attempted to do, but in a fight with the Indians he was killed. In 1519 Garay, the Spanish Governor of Jamaica, explored the gulf coast and discovered that Florida was not an island, as Ponce De Leon had supposed. In these expeditions Fernandina was the northern point touched by the Spanish, and on some of the old maps there is a blank left between the northern point of Florida

as it now exists and the region which we call the British Provinces. How that blank was filled on the maps of the world is still a question.

There is a narrative, which finds its place in most of the histories, of an exploration made by a pirate named Verrazano who sailed under a commission from the King of France. According to his own account, he struck the land on the 34th parallel in the spring of 1524. According to the same account he sailed to the 50th degree of northern latitude. In the older histories he is generally called the first discoverer of the Atlantic coast of the United States. But as he says he found lilies and roses in New Jersey in the month of April, as he found the Indians in Rhode Island making wine and oil before the sixth of May, as every other detail in this expedition is such as a vivid imagination supplies readily and easily, it must be doubted whether any facts are at the bottom of his narrative.

It really seems probable that the conjecture of Mr. Stevens is to be taken as the basis of real history. This writer supposes that, while the geographers of the East were still under the impression that America was a part of Asia, some one, who knew that the land of Asia in those latitudes was unbroken by any deep strait, drew in an imaginary line of the United States, from Florida to what was called the land of the Bacalaos. Mr. Stevens supposes that subsequent navigators when they touched the real coast of the United States improved upon this imaginary line. In this way it may be said, almost without a paradox, that the Atlantic coast of the United States was never at any one moment, or by any one voyage, discovered to Europe.

Had there been any rumor or hope of discovery of gold in these cases the Spaniards would have pressed their discoveries in that direction. But, in truth, they were more tempted elsewhere. An expedition in quest both of gold and other wealth was led out from the West Indies in 1528 by Pamphilo de Narvaez. He landed in, or near, Tampa Bay two days before Easter, and from that time he and his com-

panions, becoming more and more wretched in different extremities, explored the region north of the Gulf of Mexico. To us of to-day the most interesting result of this expedition is that four survivors, who were made slaves by the Indians, wandered from tribe to tribe for six years, and, having passed through our present Texas and the Mexican province of Sonora, came out at last on the northern settlements of the Spaniards, near the Gulf of California. It was the information which these people gave with regard to the somewhat civilized Indians, of whom the remnants exist in the Zunis and Moquis of to-day, which set the Spaniards upon exploration in that region.

But before these survivors were heard from, Hernando De Soto, one of the followers of Pizarro, in Peru, had obtained a gift of the province of Florida from the crown, and landed with nearly a thousand men for its settlement. They arrived in Tampa Bay on May 30, 1539.

De Soto for two or three years was engaged in wars with the natives, in marches to and fro, and in the attempt to discover the site where he should establish a great empire. At last he died on the shore of the Mississippi River, on May 21, 1542, and was buried in its waters.

On July 2, 1543, the wretched remnant of the expedition, 372 persons, embarked in boats which they had built on its shore, sailed down into the Gulf of Mexico, and at last reached the Spanish colony of Panuco on the shore of the Gulf of Mexico. Twenty years after, yet another Spanish expedition attempted to colonize Florida; but this expedition also failed, and returned to Mexico in 1561.

The arrival in the north of Mexico of the four unfortunate men who had escaped from the expedition of Narvaez set the whole of the City of Mexico, and of the other parts of the country inhabited by Spaniards, in a blaze. These men had brought with them what were more exaggerated even than most travelers' stories. They gave accounts of well-built cities several stories high, of people who had silver and gold quite without limit, and decorated themselves with turquoises. The

governor of that time thought that there was a new Peru open to him upon the North, and fitted out quite a strong expedition under the command of a cavalier named Coronado. This expedition started for the North in the spring of the year 1540. At the same time an expedition was sent to explore the then unknown Gulf of California, of which the opening had been discovered a short while before by Cortes himself. The maritime expedition followed up the eastern coast of California, and opened up the river known to us as the Colorado River. But they made no connection with the expedition which had proceeded by land. This party, after crossing the Desert of Sonora, came into the country which has quite within our generation been opened up to general travel, and found the well-built cities, but did not find the amount of gold and silver and turquoises which they had expected. The next summer a strong party of horsemen pressed as far East as the Mississippi River and returned. After a year or two of such occupancy Coronado himself died from a fall from a horse, and the remains of the party, dissatisfied with the almost constant fighting with the hardy natives, and with the inadequate return for such adventure, retired upon Mexico. The half-civilized inhabitants of the cities of which we know the relics, in the city of Zuni, now were left for centuries unmolested. At the end of this century, however, about the year 1580, an expedition of travelers struck the River Del Norte and followed it as far as our present city of Santa Fé. That city, founded by Oñate about 1595, and St. Augustine, in Florida, are the oldest cities in the United States.

Between the return of the expedition of Coronado and the outfit of the expedition which was to settle Santa Fé, a celebrated English voyager came to the western shore of the United States. It thus happened that this country, which was destined to use the English language and to be inhabited by races of an English origin, first came into the real possession of the English Crown by Sir Francis Drake's taking possession, in the name of Queen Elizabeth, of a bay in the Pacific. The geographers are not wholly agreed as to what the

port was on that coast, where Drake landed, repaired his ship and took possession in the queen's name. It must have been either Jack's Bay, just outside the Bay of San Francisco, or the Bay of San Francisco itself. But the somewhat broken description which we have of the harbor does not very perfectly describe either of these bays as they exist at present. What is certain is, that, in that latitude of 37½ degrees, or as near it as the rude instruments of the time would show, Drake landed in June, 1579, careened his vessel, the *Victory*, which needed cleaning and repairs sadly, and established a camp, where he rested for five weeks. The simple natives of the country thronged around the Englishmen in large numbers, supposing that they were gods, and offering sacrifice to them. But Drake, with a stern renunciation, refused to receive their worship. He, however, received them very cordially, made them presents, and edified them by inviting them to be present when he and his rough companions attended divine worship. They represented that it was their wish to make him their king; but Drake explained to them that he was himself but the subject of a higher power. He thought he made them understand who Queen Elizabeth was, and interested them when he took possession of that region, which he called Nova Albion, in her name. To their regret, after his ship was repaired, he departed for the West and crossed the ocean to the East Indies. The English Crown never made any claim for this territory under the pretext of Drake's discoveries. It was reserved for the descendants of Drake's countrymen, nearly three centuries afterward, to take possession of California by conquest, after it had long been in the hands of the Spaniards.

The ill-success of Ponce De Leon and of De Soto would have discouraged other Spanish efforts in Florida, or on the coast of what we now call South Carolina, but for the passion of religious hatred, which proved to be stronger even than the thirst for gold. As early as the year 1562, under the patronage and foresight of the great Admiral Coligni, a small French colony established itself at the mouth of the St. John River.

The settlers were Huguenots. They took possession in the name of the King of France and built a little fort which they called Charles Fort. The place has been recognized in later times. It is at a spot known as Archer's Creek, a few miles from Beaufort, South Carolina, in the Bay of Port Royal. The settlers chose wisely, if a good harbor justified their choice. But after two years of various adventure they removed their colony to what they knew as the River of May, which is our St. John's River; and here they established themselves at Fort Caroline, of which, also, the site is well known. In the year 1565, Laudonniere, their energetic leader, saw, to his delight, a fleet approaching at a time when his colony was sadly in need of succor. He supposed that these were vessels bringing him help from Coligni. It proved that it was an English fleet under the command of Sir John Hawkins, who was the first man to engage England in the slave trade. Hawkins left one of his vessels behind him, and the colony took heart by his visit. A few days after, the expected relief arrived from France. Laudonniere, who had done every thing for the colony, was displaced under false charges and Ribault was named as his successor. Ribault learned at once that the charges made against Laudonniere were false, and offered to build another fortress for his own company. But before the offer could be tested the new comers and the old comers were fighting for their lives.

Menendez, a Spanish commander, had led a crusade against these heretics, and with a party much stronger than theirs had come upon the coast to destroy them. He stormed the little fort and massacred all of the prisoners whom he could take, with one or two exceptions. "Two youths, and the fifer, trumpeters and drummers were spared. The rest were put to the sword, judging this to be expedient for the service of God, our Lord, and Your Majesty." Ribault's beard was sent to Spain as a trophy. His head was divided into four quarters and stuck up on lances at the corners of the fort. The place of the massacre is known to this day as the "Bloody River of Matanzas."

Having thus crushed the heretics Menendez laid out and established the town of St. Augustine. It was on the festival day of that saint, the 28th of August, that the Spanish fleet had run into the river of St. John. Three years passed away, and he and his Spaniards had forgotten their own treachery and cruelty, when three small vessels, which proved to be French, arrived in the river. They were under the command of De Gourgues, a French Huguenot of high reputation, who had heard of the massacre of his countrymen. He had recruited a party with the single purpose of taking revenge. Landing on the shore of Florida he put himself in communication with the Indians, who had already learned to hate the Spaniards, and was received by them with delight. Their warriors were all called in to join the French. De Gourgues surprised the Spanish fort exactly as Menendez had surprised Fort Caroline, and in a few moments the massacre of three years ago had been revenged, and only fifteen Spaniards were left alive of that little garrison. The soldiers on the other side of the river easily understood what had taken place. They were alarmed, as they well might be. They fled for their lives, but the French and the Indians fell upon them, and of this party also only the same number, fifteen, were saved.

Encouraged by this success De Gourgues and his party stormed San Mateo, the other Spanish fort, and scarcely any of this garrison escaped. When the carnage was over nearly four hundred Spaniards lay unburied. Before their burial De Gourgues dealt with those who still lived. Near him were the trees on which Menendez hanged his prisoners with the inscription, "I do this not as unto Frenchmen, but as to Lutherans." To the same trees De Gourgues now led his prisoners for execution, and placed over them the inscription, "I do not this as unto Spaniards, nor as unto *Maranes*, but as unto traitors, robbers and murderers."

He destroyed the fort which he had taken and bade goodbye to his Indian allies. "I am willing to live longer," said an old woman, "for I have seen the French return and the

Spaniards killed." He did not dare attack the stronger fortification at St. Augustine, and withdrew just in time. For the Spanish king had heard of his expedition and had sent out a fleet in pursuit. It did not, however, overtake him.

A few years after, in 1570, a little Spanish colony was attempted, by some devoted Jesuits, on the Rappahannock; but these men were killed by the Indians in the first winter. Thus was it that the only Spanish stations within the present limits of the United States at the end of the sixteenth century were the little colony at San Augustine and the settlement at Santa Fé, in the valley of the river Del Norte.

Meanwhile, as early as 1553, there was formed in London a mercantile company for western or north-western discovery. From that period to our own time there was hope in England of discovering a passage to China through the north of North America. It was not until the year 1853 that McClure, an English captain, passed around North America from Behring Strait to Baffin's Bay. Before that time Sir John Franklin, as we now know, had discovered a passage from sea to sea, but he and his crew all died without carrying the news of their discovery to England. Much of McClure's journey was made on foot on the ice; but it is now known, as it was hoped by the London merchants who formed the North-west Company, that the ocean of the Pacific and that of the Atlantic unite on the northern shore of the American continent.

In one and another effort to discover this passage various expeditions were fitted out for the last half of the sixteenth century. In 1583 Walter Raleigh, one of the remarkable men of his time, took a warm interest in one of these expeditions. Humphrey Gilbert, who had won great honor in the conquest of Ireland, and as a soldier elsewhere, was put in command of a squadron of five ships. They sailed from England for a voyage really in quest of gold. But, in very rough weather on the dangerous coast of Nova Scotia, they lost their largest vessel and were obliged to return to England. Gilbert himself was lost in the *Golden Hind*, a vessel of only ten

tons burden. He was last seen sitting in the stern of the boat, for it was nothing more, with a book in his hand, and to the hail of the other vessel answered, "We are as near heaven by sea as by land." They were his last words, and they have become proverbial.

Raleigh was not discouraged. He sent out another expedition in 1584, under Amadas and Barlow. They were directed to go farther south, and by way of the Canaries and the West Indies they made the shore of North Carolina on the 4th of July. They landed at an island which they called Wocokon. After landing and examining the keys and creeks of the neighborhood they were visited by Indians, who were friendly, and were cordially received. They were charmed with all they saw of the country, with the trees and fruits and especially the grapes, the Indian corn, the fish, the game and the people. The Indians themselves were not unwilling to return to England with them, and two of the natives were carried back that they might see the grandeur of the country from which the whites had sailed. A large bracelet of North Carolina pearls was brought for Sir Walter Raleigh. Such success was new in this navigation.

Queen Elizabeth was interested, and permitted Raleigh to give the name of "Virginia" to the country which he had discovered, in honor of her own virgin reign. A large expedition was fitted out next year with the intention of establishing a colony, which was put under the charge of Ralph Lane. Ralph Lane was a soldier who also had served in Ireland. He thought very highly of himself, but seems to have had none of the qualifications of a real leader. Some able men, however, went with Lane, the most interesting of whom, in after history, are Hariot, a distinguished mathematician, and Sir Richard Grenville, who commanded the fleet, and whose name is mixed in with all the history of Elizabeth and her time. The squadron was three months in crossing the Atlantic. In making the coast of North Carolina we now know that they made the most dangerous and difficult coast on the American shore. But they were not unfortunate in their

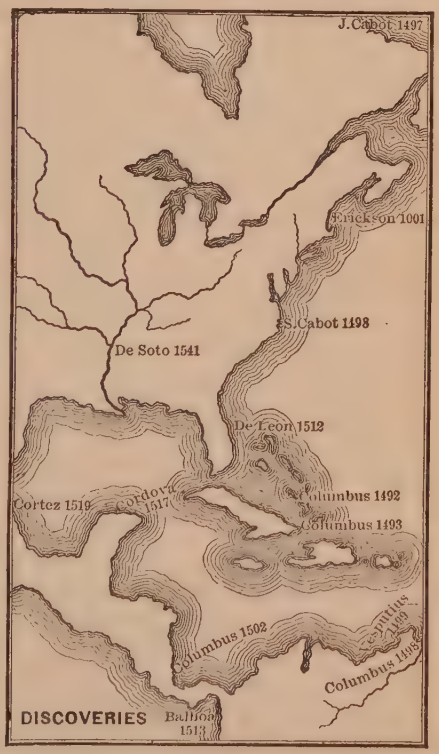
landing, and with good hope the colony established itself on the island now, as then, known as Roanoke Island. Traces of their work may be found on this island to this day. Grenville returned with the fleet and Lane was left with his men for the foundation of the new State.

It is hard to say whether it was Lane's incapacity or the cowardice of his people which prevented the success of the colony from which Raleigh had hoped so much. What is certain is, that after spending one winter on Roanoke Island, and making sundry adventures in travel in the next summer, they seized eagerly on the opportunity offered them when Drake touched, with a squadron, on their shore, to go home to England. Drake offered to leave them a vessel, which would have been all that they needed for their success. But they were tired of their new home, and departed in confusion, "as if they had been chased thence by a mighty army."

They had hardly been gone a fortnight when Sir Richard Grenville arrived with three ships well provided with supplies. He found no colony there, but left fifteen men to hold possession and returned. Raleigh, not yet discouraged, sent out one hundred and fifty men in the year 1587. The governor was John White, who instantly quarreled with the admiral, Ferdinando. They did not find the fifteen men whom Grenville had left. They did find the bones of one man. A part of them remained while White returned to England to ask for further assistance. Three years after, in 1590, he landed again in Virginia with the help which he had promised. But the colony had disappeared. On the 18th of August, 1587, while White was still with them, a girl, who was christened Virginia, was born. She was the first child of English parents born in the region which we call the United States. Romance and art have remembered her name, and it is supposed that she grew up to womanhood among the Indians. There are tantalizing approaches to some knowledge of this handful of people. In a tract written by Strachey he says: "Before I have done I will tell you the story of the lost colony." And this is the last that is heard of them, for in Strachey's

book, as we now have it, there is no further allusion to them.

Another company of adventurous London merchants sent out an expedition under Gosnold, in the year 1602, who explored the more northern part of the region which we call the United States, to which the general name of Virginia was then given. They also proposed a settlement, and, finding an island which was not inhabited, they established themselves there. These early adventurers were all afraid of savages, and preferred islands, with all their inconveniences, for their homes. The site of Gosnold's settlement is perfectly known. It is a little island, unfrequented to this day, called Cuttyhunk Island, near the mouth of the Buzzard's Bay of our present geography. In a lake in this island was a second island, and on this they built their fort, of which eager antiquarians can still find some relics. After remaining, however, a few weeks, they found they had not sufficient food to carry them through the winter, and they returned to England.



All these unsuccessful efforts, however, led up, even by their failure, to the successful enterprise of 1607, which resulted in the planting of the present State of Virginia.

CHAPTER II.

Virginia.

Permanent Settlement of Virginia—John Smith—Trouble in the Colony—Smith Taken Prisoner—Pocahontas—New Charter—Decision to Abandon Jamestown—Tobacco—First Cargo of Negroes—Right of Self-government—Indian Attack—Arrival of Lord Baltimore—Settlement of Maryland—Proprietary Charter—Island of Kent—Loss of Charter by Virginia—Change from King to Commonwealth.

THE first permanent settlement in Virginia was made by the London Company in the summer of 1607. Three vessels sailed from England on the 19th of December, 1606, the largest of but one hundred tons burden, and the others much smaller. The colony numbered one hundred and five men, and there were no women. Most of the men were so-called "gentlemen" with no knowledge of hard work and little inclination for it; there were, however, in the number several brave and noble men with spirit to carry through a great enterprise.

Among them was John Smith, who, then at the age of twenty-eight, had already behind him a career of adventure. He was born in Lincolnshire, England, in 1579. From his childhood a roving disposition showed itself in him. At thirteen he planned running away to sea. At fifteen he was far from home, fighting in the Low Countries. When he came back he built himself a hut in the forest. Soon he returned to his wanderings on the Continent. He was robbed, nearly starved, thrown into the sea from a ship in which he had embarked on the Mediterranean, and only saved by his own exertions in swimming. He fought the Turks in Transylvania, was taken prisoner and sent as a slave to Constantinople. His mistress, a Turkish princess, fell in love

with him, but her brother, in whose charge she placed him, employed the Christian favorite to thresh corn for him. Smith beat out the master's brains with the flail given him for another purpose, put on the clothes of the dead man and escaped from the place on his horse, returning to England through Europe with new adventures at every turn.

The rumors about the New World which filled the air and occupied every mind at that time were sure to excite the ardor of such a man as John Smith. His energy and good spirits made him a good leader, but he was impatient of control and turbulent. Before the end of the long voyage of four months there were discontent and insubordination in the little band, to which Smith added no small share.

The London council, which sent out the colonists, gave them their instructions in a sealed box, containing also the names of their number who were to be their leaders. This led, naturally, to difficulty on the voyage, as they did not know whom to obey. All dissensions, all griefs, however, were dissipated by the joyful sight of land, and in the best of spirits they sailed into Chesapeake Bay on the 26th of April, 1607, and after seventeen days spent in looking for a suitable place to plant the colony, they fixed on the site still known as Jamestown, which they so named in honor of their king, as they had given the names of his sons Henry and Charles to the capes they first saw and sailed between.

It was May, and lovely weather in a lovely climate. For a time all went well. The Indians were at first friendly to them and brought them food of all kinds—very grateful to them after the short rations compelled by their protracted voyage. They received venison, turkeys, Indian corn, and all the early berries soon came in perfection. Every body set cheerfully to work cutting down trees, making gardens, beginning the new life with hearty good-will. Among the directions they found in the box was the order to seek at once that entrance to the "South Sea" which all men in those days believed to be near the Atlantic shore. An expedition was fitted out for this purpose. and pushed as far as the falls on

the James River, where Richmond now is. But here the explorers turned back. Captain Christopher Newport, who commanded the little fleet, had now to return with it to England. He sailed on the 21st of June, and left the colony with no resources outside their own. Their ships were gone and they had no chance to withdraw from their situation.

It was a summer of great hardship. Want of food and proper shelter caused illness, increased by the effect of a climate different from that at home. There was much dissension among the leaders and those they led. Edward Wingfield had been chosen president from the number appointed to be the council. He was now accused of keeping for his own use the best of the food, although he says in his defense that he "never had but one squirrel roasted, yet was that squirrel given" to him. He was deposed, but his successors found it no easier to administer affairs to the satisfaction of the colony. John Smith was foremost among the discontented, but his energy was of the greatest service. He gathered supplies from the Indians, who were no longer so friendly as at first, and when they refused to trade he compelled them to do so by force of arms. The authority long accepted for Smith's adventures with the Indians is his own *General History*, in which he describes them in detail. Other writers of the time omit some of the features of the story which give it the color of romance, and for this reason they are somewhat discredited.

Smith was taken prisoner by the Indians. The story is that he filled them with amazement by the wonderful things he told them about the compass, and by a written letter which he sent to the fort. When the answer came back the savages looked with wonder upon paper which could speak of itself, and began to regard him as a superior being. They dressed themselves in their best war-paint and danced before him, and men, women and children crowded to see the white man with a beard and with clothes on. However, when he was brought before the king, Powhatan, it was decided that he must be slain. His head was laid upon two great stones, and

men stood ready to beat his brains out, when the king's little daughter got her arms about his head, "and laid her own upon his to save him from death, whereat the king was contented he should live to make him hatchets and her bells and beads." This was Pocahontas, who could have been but eight or nine years old at this time. She was afterward married to an Englishman; not to John Smith, as a fairy tale would have had it, but to Mr. John Rolfe. Her name was changed to Rebecca, and she went to England, where she was presented at court and received much attention as a heroine and an Indian princess. It is said she had been told that John Smith was dead. When he was brought to her in London, she covered her face with her hands and remained silent for a long time.

Pocahontas, the Lady Rebecca, was baptized into the Christian church. She died just as she was about to return to her native country, at about twenty-three years of age. She left one son, and the Rolfes of Virginia are proud to claim her as their ancestress.

In the autumn of 1608 Smith was made president of the colony. He kept it at least from starvation but could preserve but a feeble life in it. Captain Newport came and went, bringing provisions and new colonists; but these were often men of little service in the way of work. The next year Smith met with an accident which put an end to his career in Virginia. By an explosion of gunpowder he was so burned and injured that he had to go to England for surgical aid.

After this he made two voyages to America, but never again returned to Virginia. He passed the rest of his life in England, and published several books, of which the *General History of Virginia* is one.

Meantime a new charter was asked and granted for the colony, with larger powers and privileges than the first had allowed. A fleet of nine ships, carrying five hundred people, was dispatched in May, 1609, with Sir Thomas Gates as admiral, who was to assume supreme command on arrival and

thus supersede Smith. The fleet was dispersed by a storm, and the admiral's ship was supposed to be lost, for nothing was heard of her till the next spring. In May Gates reached Jamestown, having spent the winter comfortably at Bermuda, where he was cast ashore with his one hundred and fifty companions. When he arrived in Virginia, of the five hundred whom Smith had left at Jamestown six months before only sixty were alive. He landed and ordered the bell to be rung as a summons to church for all the people who could crawl out to welcome him. Service was held in "zealous and sorrowful prayer." The whole place was a scene of desolation; palisades were torn down, gates were broken off their hinges, houses pulled to pieces for fire-wood, because the people were afraid to go into the forest for fuel.

Gates decided that the only thing to do was to abandon Jamestown and go to some place out of the way of the Indians and within reach of succor from England. The whole colony were actually embarked on their vessels, and were waiting for the ebb-tide, when they were intercepted by tidings of the arrival of Lord de la Warre, with three ships and plentiful supplies. The colonists turned back, and at night were in their old quarters, faint at heart, and with much doubt what was to follow. This was the very lowest ebb in the fortunes of the little colony on the shore of Virginia.

The true value of Virginia was now becoming better known in England; the mildness of its climate, the fertility of its soil, the value of its products. The colony began at last to achieve some degree of prosperity under the judicious management of successive rulers. Tobacco began to yield a profitable harvest, for the use of it, introduced by Raleigh as a fashion at court, had become common throughout England.

This crop was a source of wealth, and land for it was plentiful, but the land was useless without laborers. In 1619 a Dutch ship arrived at Jamestown with a cargo of negroes from the coast of Guinea, and they were eagerly welcomed at good prices by the planter.

In the same year, for the first time, the right of self-govern-

ment was given to the colonists. They were called upon to send representatives from each of the towns, hundreds or plantations, to meet with governor and council and decide upon all matters relating to the colony. The first legislative assembly met in the church at Jamestown, on the 3d of July, 1619. It consisted of twenty-two representatives, besides the governor and his council.

In the spring of 1622 a sudden calamity threatened the prosperity of the colony. For years there had been unbroken peace with the Indians, and the English had scattered themselves without fear over the country, in free intercourse with the natives. Powhatan, the friendly king, was dead, and his brother, now the most powerful chief in Virginia, hated the English and grudged their existence in the land to which his race had an exclusive right. On the morning of the 22d of March, with no warning whatever, the savages, instigated by the chief, fell upon the whites wherever they found them, sparing neither age nor sex, with a horrid joy. The attack was chiefly outside of Jamestown, for there the people were put upon their guard by a converted Indian, who had been urged by his brother to do his part in the massacre. Instead of this the Indian told the plot to his master, who hurried across the river from his plantation to the town and warned the authorities in time for them to arm the place. This saved the larger part of the colonists, but within an hour's time about three hundred and fifty of them were killed.

Probably in the spring of 1629, George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, arrived at Jamestown from Newfoundland, where he had a colony called Avalon. Discouraged there by the hard climate and barren soil, he had come to look for a pleasanter spot for his purpose, and he found it on the shores of Chesapeake Bay. But the government in Virginia regarded him and his project with little favor. Lord Baltimore was a Catholic, and his plan was likely to interfere with the freedom of religion which the Jamestown colony had hitherto enjoyed. The usual oath of supremacy and allegiance was tendered to him by them. But they were not sorry when he declined to

take it, and they then asked him to take shipping to New England by the earliest opportunity. He left their colony, but afterward obtained a charter with grant of land around the head of Chesapeake Bay, on which (he himself dying inopportunely) his son, Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore, planted a colony in the year 1634, under the leadership of his brother Leonard. The name *Terra Mariæ*—Maryland, was given the colony in honor of the queen.

It was a Roman Catholic colony, an asylum for persecuted Romanists. Under the charge of Father White and his fellow priests it took firm root and flourished. The Virginians heard of the new settlement with natural indignation, and their opposition grew to open conflict. But the new colony was by no means wholly Catholic. Lord Baltimore, to whom the powers of the sovereign had been delegated, had apparently no idea of restricting the emigration, and as a matter of fact a strong Puritan party grew up in the new settlement. This induced disturbances, of which there were not a few.

The charter under which Maryland was settled was of the kind known as "proprietary"—that is, the king made over his rights to a proprietor in whom was vested power almost regal. He was not absolutely to reign over the colonists, but to settle with them what sort of government should be established in the same manner that the king would otherwise have done. Baltimore does not seem to have done much in this respect, but the commission as governor granted to Leonard Calvert gave him power to call assemblies, to veto or approve laws made by them, and to act as judge. The people, as had been the custom in Massachusetts and Plymouth, at first all attended the assemblies, but subsequently delegated their power to deputies. The customs in this matter were somewhat curious; we find that any one dissatisfied with the election of deputy from his county was allowed to go and sit in the assembly himself, if he so desired, and the proprietor had the right to name as many deputies as he chose. Hence quarrels arose. More would have arisen had Baltimore been more inclined than he was to press Romanism on his colonists.

The Marylanders quarreled with Virginia over the Island of Kent, in Chesapeake Bay, where one Clayborne had settled himself, to assert the claim of Virginia to the island as well as for trade with the Indians. The island was within the boundaries of Calvert's patent. A slight skirmish took place and the matter was referred to England. Later on, on the outbreak of the civil war at home, disputes arose in Maryland. Clayborne seems to have thought that he could gain redress from the Parliament which the king had not granted him for the Puritans in Maryland, who were opposed to Baltimore on principle. Many disturbances took place during the time of the Commonwealth, but Baltimore, although a Catholic, was able to keep his patent, though with various vicissitudes. The Puritans in the colony became very strong, being strengthened by accessions from Virginia. On the occasion when Stone, the proprietary governor, differed with the Parliamentary Commissioners who had been sent out to subdue all the colonies, they sided with the commissioners and drove the governor out of the colony. But the home government upheld Baltimore in his rights, which seem to have been all that that tolerant nobleman desired, and his brother, Phillip Calvert, was made governor and succeeded in obtaining the upper hand in affairs.

There is not much else of importance in this century to chronicle in regard to Maryland. The inhabitants pursued their own business, and, to their great happiness, did not become involved in any Indian wars. Curiously enough, though the colony was founded by a Roman Catholic, there were, toward the end of the century many severe laws against papists. Baltimore himself lost all civil rights in his own colony. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, his successor became Protestant, and obtained his full rights again.

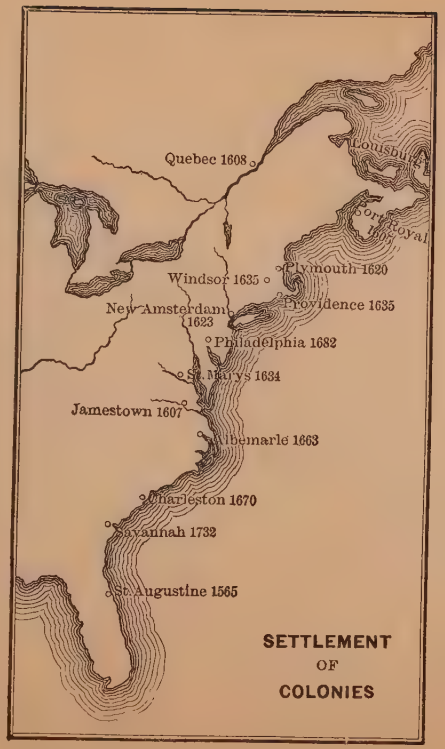
To resume our sketch of Virginia: Shortly after the great massacre came another misfortune upon the colony. Their charter was taken from them, and they were reduced to unconditional dependence on the king's will. The Virginians

had been by no means backward in resisting sundry oppressive proceedings of James I., and in revenge for this, or rather to take away the possibility of such proceedings in future, a writ of *quo warranto* was entered against the charter, which was declared forfeited. The change was, however, more in form than in fact. The royal governor, Sir Francis Watt, was retained, and the right of the assembly to meet and legislate was not questioned. The Virginia Company thus being dissolved, the people asked for a new patent stating the form of government. Although no such protection was granted, no attempt was made by Charles I., who came to the throne at about this time, to deprive Virginia of any of her liberties, and in his reign the country flourished and prospered with little occurring for chronicling. After the great massacre no Indian disturbances occurred for twenty years. In 1644 another Indian war of small importance broke out, but was easily put an end to. The Virginians treated the Indians with very great justice and wisdom, and reaped the benefit thereof.

We may here with advantage take a view of the colony now established forty years. Its character was peculiar. Virginia is a country of rivers. Innumerable rivers and creeks flow into the numerous bays and indentations of the coast line. The result of this was that the planters naturally kept to the river banks. They scattered all over the country, for every-where was there easy access to the sea, so that everywhere was it easy to dispose of the crops. Thus there was not in Virginia that consolidation to be noticed in the northern colonies; the state of the country was exactly the reverse. The country was filled with very small settlements at some little distance from each other, lying at that time almost entirely between the James and the York rivers. The number of inhabitants had at last considerably increased, although at first curtailed by the massacres and starvations of the earlier years. By the year 1650 there were perhaps 15,000 people, whites and blacks. This population was made up in general of two classes: the rich, well-to-do plant-

ers, and the poorer class of English, often transported for crime or sold into the colony as slaves for a term of years. There seems to have been no middle class. The colony was prosperous and contented as far as its worldly affairs were concerned. The houses were not seldom substantial buildings of brick or stone. The soil brought forth abundantly not only tobacco, but almost every necessity of life. In fact, so much corn was produced that much was exported to New England. There was abundance of game in the woods, so that no one need fear want. On the whole there was no small reason for the general affection felt by the Virginians for their country.

The change from king to commonwealth was effected without serious results as far as Virginia was concerned. Not that the Virginians were totally indifferent to the change, caring little who were their rulers, so they were allowed to cultivate their corn and tobacco. Far from it. There was in Virginia a very strong Royalist element; so strong that it is not infrequently taken as representing the colony. Berkeley, the governor, was a stanch old Royalist to the last; but there were also many to whom the Puritan ideas in religion were not disagreeable, and there were more in whom the spirit of independence and freedom had grown to such an extent that they welcomed with pleasure the deposition of the Stuarts. The first proceedings of Virginia on the execution of Charles I. were of a Royalist character, and it seems to have been generally thought in England that the colony would serve as a Royalist refuge. But upon the arrival of a Parliamentary fleet under Dennis the other element was put in power, and with the aid of such as were indifferent to either party the change was made with no trouble, and the colony was surrendered to the commissioners sent out for that purpose. The assembly continued in existence and power, but the old governor was displaced and the commissioners chose a new one. Under the new system affairs were carried on with the same tranquillity which had marked the previous ten years. The principal thing of importance to note at this time was the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New Amsterdam 1623
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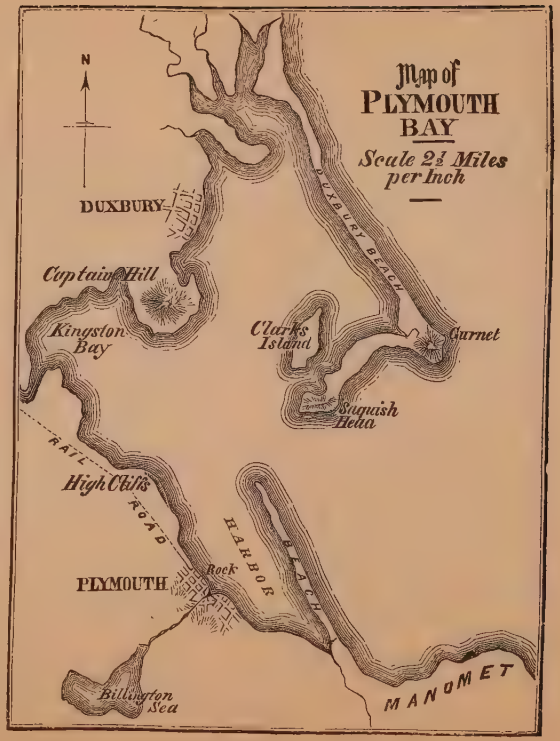
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Scale 2½ Miles
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Captain Hill
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Clarks
Island
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RAIL
ROAD
High Cliffs
PLYMOUTH
Rock
HARBOR
Billington
Sea
MANOMET

CHAPTER III.

The Settlement of New England—Plymouth.

English Reformation—The Name Puritan—The Beginning of the Puritans—Later History of the Puritans—Presbyterian Puritans—Brown and the Independents—The Puritans go to Holland—Thoughts of Going to America—They Set Out—They Anchor at Provincetown—A New Government—They Land at Plymouth—A Hard Winter—The Indians—Different Settlements—Growth of the Plymouth Colony—Their Form of Government.

TO understand the settlement of New England we must have some knowledge of the course of the Reformation in England. In that country the reformatory tendencies were twofold. In the first place, there were those who desired for political reasons, more than religious, to throw off the supremacy of the Papal see, and with it various abuses which had crept into the Roman Church. In the second, there were those who, for purely religious reasons of conscience, wished to reform the Church of England into what they deemed, from a purely theological stand-point, a purer and better Church. To this latter class belonged the Puritans. There were many of that stamp who could not be called by that name, but the whole of the Puritan body would come fairly under our last head.

The word Puritan is used as the general name for that large body of men of very diverse views and opinions, at different times as well as at the same time, who found it impossible for them to conform conscientiously to all the usages of the Church of England in the period of the Reformation of that Church from Romanism to Anglo-Catholicism. The name is none of the best, but time and association have given it a place in the minds, not to say the affections, of English-speaking people that will not easily be filled by any substitute.

The term did not come into general use until 1566, or thereabouts, but by historians it is generally referred back to the year 1550.

Not that the Puritan spirit was not earlier manifested in English history. We see elements of the Puritan idea in Anglo-Saxon writing, in the writings of Wicklif, and in his followers, the Lollards. But the date 1550 is generally taken as that of the first "public manifestation of Puritanism as an element in church politics." It was in this year that Dr. Hooper, on being named Bishop of Gloucester, refused to wear the garments prescribed for his consecration by the regulations of the Church of England, then being reformed with cautious sagacity by Edward, under the advice of Archbishop Cranmer. Hooper at first desired to be allowed consecration without the garments, relics of popery, as he considered them, and, failing this, he wished to be allowed to refuse the bishopric. Neither of these alternatives was allowed. Hooper, after argument, persuasion and imprisonment, consented to wear the habits at his consecration, and again when he preached at court shortly afterward. But except for those two times he was allowed to discard them. We may call him a Puritan, yet he was a bishop in the Church of England. Such a position would have been a strange anomaly ninety years afterward, when the Puritans, as a party, were clamoring for the abolishment of the episcopal office in the Church. Other of Edward's bishops and many of Elizabeth's were Puritans of Hooper's type.

Puritanism afterward appeared in different forms. In 1554 many English Protestants had fled from their country under the Marian persecution and had taken refuge with the Calvinist churches of the continent. At this time John Knox and William Whittingham, under the severe views of the Church at Geneva, led some of the more advanced of the Puritans in a fierce attack upon the prayer-book used by the Church, known as King Edward's prayer-book. Many whom we should call Puritans were not in sympathy with this movement; for, although they held the same principles as the

reformers, they were ruled by the stronger desire to see the Church of England triumph in its reformation, and were, therefore, led to accept what they could not approve. But at this time all the Puritans were unwilling to separate from a "church where the Word and sacraments were truly preached."

Later still, when Elizabeth, having been several years upon the throne, was seeking to enforce conformity to the church of which she was the supreme governor under Christ, a number of Puritans felt called upon to separate themselves from a church which imposed on them practices which they held to be not deducible from Scripture, and, therefore, not to be endured, and to form a church independent of it. They were known as "Separatists." This was in 1566.

In 1572 a new element in English Puritanism took a definite shape, the desire to convert the Church of England into a Presbyterian establishment. Of this movement Cartwright is the historical landmark. Presbyterianism became at once a vigorous branch of Puritanism, though it by no means absorbed all its strength. Many Puritans were Presbyterians; all Presbyterians were Puritans. But at this time it was a minority of the Puritan body which desired a Presbytery. Later, in 1642, the Presbyterians made up the greater part of the Puritans.

About the year 1582 Robert Brown set a going a movement from which he himself retired, leaving with it as a precious legacy a nickname which clung with a stigmatizing hold for more than a generation. Brown was an "Independent." This word, and the words independence and independency, came into our language with him. He separated himself from the Establishment, holding (if we can tell exactly what he held) that each congregation of the faithful gathered together for the worship of God constituted a Church. We must still call the Brownists, or Separatists, or Independents, Puritans, though in their earlier days they were "a sect of outlaws beyond the pale of ordinary Puritanism." In line after Brown, though not allowing themselves to be his followers, came the Amsterdam Separatists, from 1603 onward; the congregation

that migrated from Scrooby to Leyden, and from Leyden sailed in the *Mayflower;* eventually the Puritans of the Massachusetts Bay Company and the new model army of Oliver Cromwell.

But Presbyterians and Independents by no means made up all the Puritans from 1572 to 1642. The main body were anti-prelatists merely, opposed to many of the usages of the Church of England, yet remaining members of that Church, bearing the strongest affection for it mingled with a desire for its reform in some matters. They desired simply reform *in* the Church, and no such sweeping reform *of* the Church as was urged by Cartwright and Brown. Even of the settlers of Boston and Salem many professed their fondest affection for the Church of England, and became Independent merely because three thousand miles of ocean rolled between them and that Church.

Such were the different stages in the development of English Puritanism. It had always for its object one thing: the true perception of religious truth without regard to consequences. Those who could not find it within the Church of England were earnest enough to separate themselves from that Church, that they might worship God in a manner not displeasing to him. Of these Separatist congregations there were several toward the end of Elizabeth's reign and the beginning of that of James I. One of them was gathered at Scrooby, in the north of England, on the borders of three counties, York, Lincoln and Nottingham. This Church, gathered together under the care of John Robinson and Richard Clifton, desired nothing save freedom to worship in their own way. This was not to be found in England. James I. was showing himself by no means lenient with those who could not agree with the Establishment. The Scrooby congregation came to the idea that they would give up home, country and every thing, for their religion's sake, and emigrate to Holland, where, already, some two or three churches had sought shelter from English persecution. But even this was hardly allowed them. Attempting to escape by night, as

though criminals, they were discovered and prevented A second attempt was more successful, and in 1608 the little Church found itself in Amsterdam, whence they shortly moved to Leyden, the university city of Holland.

In Leyden they remained twelve years. They lived quietly and obscurely, tolerated, and perhaps encouraged, by the inhabitants. Each man found some occupation to which he might turn his hand to gain a livelihood. But as they saw their children growing up to manhood and womanhood in a strange country, speaking a strange language, and having but little familiarity with that country which they still held dear, though self-exiled from it—as time went on in this manner, it was more and more borne in upon them that it was not the will of God that they should gradually subside and become amalgamated with the Dutch people around them, but that they ought to take some steps whereby they might enjoy the freedom of the Gospel and at the same time forward the honor and prosperity of their own dear native country, and, perchance, be the means of conveying Christianity to the heathen of America. They thought of emigrating in a body to some part of the New World, where they might be at liberty to keep pure their primitive form of worship and yet, at the same time, live under the shelter and protection of the English flag, and contribute by their lives to the glory and well-being of their stepmother country. After some discussion of the advantages of the valley of the Oronoco, to which Raleigh's adventures had called attention, it was hoped that they might be able to settle as a separate community on the territory of the Virginia Company.

Negotiations were at once set on foot, and, not to be tedious in narrating details, after some hard bargaining with such adventurers as were willing to provide funds for the journey, and after vain endeavors to obtain a royal charter under which they might live and erect some form of government, they at last reached the time of departure. All of the Leyden congregation were not to go. There were many who, for various reasons, could not find it in their hearts to venture every thing in

an untried experiment of settlement in a new world. Indeed, these were the majority of the congregation, and, such being the case, the pastor of the flock, John Robinson, remained at Leyden with those who were left behind, while William Brewster, the elder, was to cross the seas with the band of exiles. With them went also William Bradford, a man of consideration among them, who was afterward for many years the governor of their colony, and with them also went the soldier, Miles Standish, destined to command their humble armies and to take charge of such defensive warfare as might be necessary in a wild and unknown country. So, on August 5, 1620, one hundred and twenty of them, having gathered at Southampton, whither they had crossed from Leyden by way of Defthaven, set sail for America in two vessels, the *Mayflower* and the *Speedwell*. They had not, however, proceeded far before the *Speedwell* sprung a leak, and it was necessary to return for repairs. Having started once again, it became evident after some days that the *Speedwell* was unfit for the ocean passage, and that it would be dangerous for her to go on. The company was, therefore, divided. Such as desired to go back were put on board the *Speedwell*, which returned to England. The rest, one hundred in number, went forward in the *Mayflower*.

According to the patent granted to them by the Virginia Company it had been the intention to settle somewhere to the south of Cape Cod. But the shipmaster, having to wrestle with unmanageable storms, could do nothing better than to land them just inside that cape in what is now the harbor of Provincetown. It was thought at the time that he had been hired by the Dutch, who were then settled on the Hudson River, to keep this English settlement at some distance from them, but there is nothing to show that this was the case.

Having dropped anchor inside Cape Cod, before leaving the ship they took a most decisive step : they created a government for themselves. Having had no form of government prescribed for them by any superior power, being in a new land—as it were, new-born people with, practically, no author-

ity over them save that of the God whom they worshiped—they had strength enough to conceive of the simplest form of government, founded in truly American principles: the equal rights of the people. The document drawn up and signed by them on the 15th of November, 1620, is in these words:

"In the name of God, Amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c., having undertaken, for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our King and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

To this compact every man in the party put his name. It is, with reason, regarded with the greatest interest, because it is a perfect illustration of a government proceeding from the people by their own consent, and it is the first instance in history where a government is thus formed, in writing, at one time, by the expressed consent of the governed.

Having thus formed themselves into a body politic they set about to find a spot for settlement. After having explored a great part of Cape Cod they finally settled upon a harbor on the mainland, to which they gave the name Plymouth, the last town they had seen in the Old England and the first in the New. Here they landed on the 11th of December (the 21st, according to new style), and here they at once set to work to build them houses to shelter them from the winter. The *Mayflower* was to remain with them till spring. That winter bore with great severity upon the colony. Nearly one half of them had perished before the *Mayflower*

set out on her return voyage to England. Yet of the few who were left not one returned in the ship; not one but was strong in the hope of the new plantation. As summer came on the hardships ceased. More settlers were brought over, and in two or three years the colony was so well established that it was no longer a question, when winter came on, as to whether there would be any left alive to see the spring, but a certain rude prosperity had begun to prevail.

The colony was, on the whole, fortunate in its connection with the natives of the country. It happened that some few years before their settlement a great pestilence had passed over the tribes of Eastern Massachusetts, thinning their numbers terribly. So the English settlers had but little to fear from their strength. Such Indians as there were seemed friendly. Their first meeting was of a hostile nature, but shortly after, the Pilgrims coming into relations with Massasoit, a firm league of friendship was made, which was truly kept. Not that there were not occasional disturbances, but the fault of these hardly lay with the Plymouth settlers; for as the years passed other English emigrants settled in New England. In 1622 a settlement was begun by one Weston at a place called Wessagusset, about thirty miles to the north of Plymouth, on the sea-coast. Some sixty men were landed and remained there for two winters; but they were not men of the same stamp as the Plymouth settlers, and the plan utterly failed, though not before Weston's men had by their unjust treatment aroused the Indians to hostilities which were not quelled until Standish had taken the field against them. This settlement failed, and so did another, sent out by Captain Wollaston. This latter was made near Quincy, and here it was that Morton, of Merrymount, raised his May-pole, and created such scandal that all the settlers on the coast banded together against him and sent him back again to England; for by this time (1625) there were many stray settlers along the New England shore. At Cape Ann, as we shall see hereafter, were certain West of England fishermen. Further north, on the Piscataqua, were small settlements of a few men, and in one

or two places were solitary men living at some part or other of the coast, of whom we know little more than the name. One more scheme for colonization we ought to note. In 1623 the Plymouth Company, thinking that some effort should be made for colonization, fitted out a small expedition under Robert Gorges, the son of Ferdinando Gorges, a man much interested in American settlement at that time. But this plan, like others, came to nothing, and the Pilgrims at Plymouth were practically the only settlers in New England before the time of the settlement of Salem and Boston by the Massachusetts Bay Company.

They grew and increased slowly. In the ten years between 1620 and 1630 their numbers had increased, from the handful settled at Plymouth, so that two or three new towns had been settled, and their prosperity was, in a simple way, secured. They were busied chiefly with agriculture, but carried on certain trading operations with the Indians both on the Kennebec, in what is now Maine, where they came in contact with the French, and on the Connecticut, where they found the Dutch pioneers. Their political condition had by no means fallen from the high standard set at Provincetown. They had obtained no charter, and the basis of their government lay in the consent of the governed. A governor and an assistants were the executive, while the colony itself met in general court to form the legislative body. The magistrates of the towns passed judgment on small causes and the more important cases were heard before the governor and assistants, with a jury of colonists. At the time of their starting, the funds for the expedition had been provided by certain adventurers in London to whom the proceeds of the adventure of the colony were to accrue in return for their advance. But this arrangement proved unsatisfactory. The returns from the colony were small, and the adventurers became discontented, lost their interest and did little to assist the colonists. But in 1627 these adventurers were bought out by certain of the leading colonists, and henceforth the colonists were debtors to no man save themselves.

CHAPTER IV.

The Settlement of Massachusetts.

The Massachusetts Bay Colony—An Attempt to Colonize Cape Ann—Salem—The Charter—Preparations for Further Emigration—The Emigrants—They Land at Charlestown—Boston—The Colony Thrives—Roger Williams—He Makes a New Settlement—The Pequods—Mrs. Anne Hutchinson—More Settlements—The Different Settlements Make a Confederacy—Missionary Work Among the Indians—John Eliot—The Quakers—Position of the Colonies.

SUCH was the beginning of the settlement of New England. The Pilgrims having found no rest for their consciences except in separation from the Church of England, and finding that such religious worship as seemed to them right was not to be tolerated in England, had made their escape to Holland. But not liking the thought of ending their lives in a foreign land, they had sought in New England an opportunity for that form of religion which they had found impossible in England.

Religious views of much the same nature were influential in the steps which led to the settlement of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. There were many in England who saw no religious or civil freedom in that country, and they turned their eyes across the Atlantic imagining that there they should at least be free of courts, of high commissioners and of star chambers. These were not views of religious liberty, of religious freedom, as we use the words. There was no idea of liberty of conscience. Pilgrims and Puritans alike crossed the Atlantic to worship as they thought right. They had no idea, when they found what power was in their hands, of allowing indiscriminate freedom of worship. It is well to bear this in mind throughout any study of New England history. But it was not from religious causes alone that the movement

sprung which resulted in the settlement of Salem and Boston.

The West of England men had for some time adventured in the New England fisheries, which they found profitable. But the ships made each cruise from England and returned thither each year with their "catch." The only landings they made in New England were for the purpose of drying their fish, that they might bring it safely home with them. It occurred to the Rev. John White, of Dorchester, a famous Puritan divine (who had other views in mind as well), that it would be no bad plan to form a company, which should settle a few men at some convenient point on the New England shore, who should be able to assist the fishing crews by providing quarters for the sailors when on shore, and gain supplies by hunting and planting. It was also held that some religious influence might be brought to bear on the mariners. A company was formed, known as the Dorchester Adventurers, which at once sent out, in the year 1623, an expedition which made a settlement on Cape Ann. But no success followed; in fact, every thing went wrong; and in three years' time the colony was abandoned by all the settlers save four —Roger Conant, Peter Palfrey, John Balch and John Newbury. At the earnest solicitation of the Rev. John White these four men remained, to be reinforced by new settlers. Mr. White, with the greater number of the English Puritans, looked on New England as a possible refuge from unbearable persecutions, and to him it seemed of importance that any foothold once made should be retained.

The Dorchester Company had evidently failed; but there were others interested. Puritans all over the country began to consider whether it might not be possible to make something of this opportunity. In London the matter was discussed from a commercial as well as a religious stand-point, and there were many who thought that here was a scheme which deserved assistance. By such means funds to a considerable amount were collected, and the right man appearing at that moment, John Endicott by name, he was named

as governor of the new party which was to reinforce the remnant at Cape Ann. A patent was obtained from the "Grand Council for New England," and in the summer of 1628 a considerable party was sent out, which formed a settlement at Naumkeag, whither Conant and the others had removed. The colony, consisting of about sixty persons, settled themselves here for the winter, and gave the name of Salem, the Hebrew word for peace, to their habitation.

In England the enterprise became further enlarged. Certain from Boston, in Lincolnshire, joined themselves to it, and the company was incorporated and obtained a royal charter under the name of the "Governor and Company of the Massachussetts Bay in New England." Matthew Cradock was named in the charter as governor. The idea was like that of the other trading companies: a governing body in England was to oversee and direct the proceedings of such settlements as might be made in the New World.

The constitution of the company was as follows: Certain persons were named in the charter as constituting the company and were given power to join to themselves such as they deemed proper. These "freemen" were to elect their governor and deputy and eighteen assistants, who were to form a sort of executive board for the transaction of all business which could not well come before the whole company at its stated meetings, which were to occur four times a year. The oaths of supremacy and allegiance might, not *must*, be administered to freemen by the governor, deputy, and two assistants. The company had power to transport settlers, who might be settled anywhere within the territory allowed; namely, a tract of land extending from a line drawn three miles north of the Merrimac River to another three miles south of the Charles, and from the Atlantic to the South Sea. Within this territory the company had power to establish such offices as they deemed necessary and to take such steps as were necessary for the planting and defense of their settlement. Nothing was said of religion or religious matters. The company was strictly forbidden to do any thing inconsistent

with the laws of England. Such was the main purport of the charter.

It was intended for the organization and use of a trading company, but it proved entirely sufficient for the government of a colony, and it was under this charter that Massachusetts lived for fifty-five years. The charter having been obtained a reinforcement was sent to Salem. The greater number of the patentees were Puritans, and the character of the settlements was of the same nature. Two Puritan ministers, Skelton and Higginson, were sent out, and every thing went well. Thus far the governing body was in England, and the colony sent out by them had little character save that of a trading or fishing station. The next year, however, an important change was made.

The charter made no stipulations as to where the meetings of the company were to be held. It had probably been always in the minds of the principal members of the company to make of their settlement an asylum for religious persecution, although no such idea was openly mentioned. But circumstances forced them on. The state of affairs in England was such that many Puritans made up their minds that they could no longer remain in the country. A large number of the company resolved to emigrate. It was decided to take the charter to New England with them; to hold the meetings of the company there, and so to secure a far greater measure of self-government than could have been otherwise hoped for. Certain proposals to that end were read before a meeting of the company, a number of gentlemen pledged themselves to emigrate if an arrangement could be made whereby the charter might be transferred to America, and a new board of officers was chosen. John Winthrop was elected governor, and Humphrey, who was afterward replaced by Thomas Dudley, deputy; for neither Cradock nor Humphrey proposed to emigrate. Measures were at once adopted for carrying through the new plan. This was in the summer and fall of the year 1629.

On April 7, 1630, preparation having been diligently made

throughout the winter, John Winthrop and his company, numbering about seven hundred persons, set sail in eleven ships for New England. The expedition was one of greater importance and moment in the eye of the world than the humble voyage of the *Mayflower*, but history does not make such a distinction. The leaders in the enterprise were persons of consideration. John Winthrop was a man of good family and of some property, bred to the law and accustomed to the best society in England. Dudley had been steward of the estates of the Earl of Lincoln. Johnson, one of the assistants, was the son-in-law of the same nobleman. Theophilus Eaton had been at one time minister to Denmark. Vassar, Bradstreet and Saltonstall were men of family and estate. Many of the emigrants were graduates of the universities. Though by no means the highest persons of the realm, they were persons of reputation and estate, of intelligence and education. Added to this, they were ruled by steady and sincere religious purposes. They were members of the Church of England, and in their parting address, while asking prayer and good wishes for the success of their undertaking, they spoke of their necessary separation from the country where that Church "specially resideth, with much sadness of heart and many tears."

After a passage of about nine weeks the *Arbella*, the chief ship (named after the Lady Arbella Johnson, wife of one of the assistants), anchored in Salem harbor and was shortly after joined by the rest of the fleet. After a short stay at Salem they proceeded to pitch upon a place of settlement, and in the end of June they landed at Mishawum, shortly after called Charlestown, and settled at that place. Many of them subsequently moved across the Charles River to the Peninsula of Shawmut, to which the name Boston was afterward given, in recollection of the town in Lincolnshire from which many of them had come. Others settled near at hand, some in Newtown, afterward Cambridge, and at Dorchester, Roxbury and Watertown. In each town the settlers at once entered into church covenants. On August 23 the first court

of assistants was held, and in October was held the first general court at Boston, to which many of the settlers had moved from Charlestown in search of a good supply of water. The colony was well and fairly started.

Such was the beginning of the Massachusetts Bay Colony; perhaps the best instance of the working out of the Puritan ideal of a State, although at this time the ideals of the founders may not have been well rounded. As time went on the details were more thoroughly elaborated, and through a period of thirty years we may trace the rise of what we may call the Puritan Ideal Commonwealth. The basis of the structure was implicit obedience to the law of God in all things. Government and morals, in private life as well as public, were ordered by the rule of the Scriptures. For thirty years the colony of Massachusetts, being allowed to do much as it pleased, strengthened itself on this basis. The Commonwealth was purged and purified by the casting out of Roger Williams, Mrs. Hutchinson, the Quakers, and such others as dissented from the general opinions of the people. It was strengthened by its geographical enlargement and by its victories over the Indians, whom it subsequently received as children for religious teaching. Its freedom of outside interference was in many ways asserted. The rise of this ideal continued for thirty years. After that time we see its gradual downfall, beginning with the restoration of Charles II. and culminating in the usurpation of Andros and the provincial charter.

The colony, being once begun, grew rapidly. In about ten years all emigration from England had ceased; but even by this time the growth had been large, both geographically and in population. The settlers had pushed inland, up the rivers and into the country. They had also spread up and down the coast. In 1640 they numbered perhaps fifteen times the thousand which had come with Winthrop and before.

The first instance of the colony's strengthening itself against itself, of which other instances will occur, was in the expulsion of Roger Williams. Williams was a young clergy-

man who settled first at Boston and then at Salem, whose views seemed to his brother ministers and to many of the people harmful and dangerous. He was expostulated with quietly at first, and then with more vigor. Being found obdurate he was banished. It is not for our purpose necessary to consider whether his views were or were not absolutely more correct than those of his persecutors. The point is that the will of the colony resolved to assert itself, and to enforce that conformity which they thought necessary, in much the same way that Archbishop Laud had attempted to enforce the conformity he thought necessary. Other things in the colony pointed in the same direction. The franchise was allowed only to church members, and church members were admitted only on satisfactory proof of the orthodoxy of their views and lives.

As for Roger Williams, he traveled through the forests in the winter, and coming out of the Massachusetts patent and to the head of Narragansett Bay he purchased land of the Indians, to whom he was not unknown, and with a few friends settled a town to which he gave the name of Providence. Instead of following the example of his Massachusetts neighbors, who having fled from intolerance in England would have no toleration in America, he and those with him allowed the widest liberty of conscience to those who might choose to join them. In another direction also did the settlers spread, though not for like reasons. The inhabitants of the towns near Boston, finding themselves cramped for room for all their cattle, turned their eyes to the rich meadows of the Connecticut River, and in the year 1634 they crossed the country and settled in three towns on that river. The next year they were joined by others, and being outside of the bounds of the Massachusetts and Plymouth patents they set up a government for themselves, resembling in character, as was natural, that of the jurisdictions they had left.

For the first few years after the settlement of Massachusetts there were no Indian troubles, but with the settlement of Connecticut the colonists came in contact with the Pequods,

a tribe which inhabited the southern part of New England, and Indian outrages finally led to what was known as the Pequod war. Massachusetts and Connecticut banded together against their savage foes. The Pequods strove to form an alliance with the Narragansetts, but the Narragansett chieftains were deterred from war by the counsels of Roger Williams, who thus found an opportunity of returning good for evil. The Pequods, left alone to cope with the English, who were joined by the Mohegans, a tribe of Connecticut Indians, were utterly destroyed. The English made an expedition into their country, captured and burned their chief town, and pursued the scattered remnants of the tribe, and thus the Pequod nation was removed from the face of New England.

The danger from without was no sooner removed than Massachusetts was threatened from within. More unorthodox views appeared, emanating from Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, the brilliant wife of a considerable merchant of Boston. The people, keenly alive to religious controversy, arrayed themselves on the different sides. Mrs. Hutchinson found countenance in Mr. John Wheelwright, the minister of Braintree, her brother-in-law, in John Cotton, one of the ministers of the church at Boston, and in Henry Vane, the young governor of the Commonwealth. But the clergy of the colony were almost unanimous against her, and the congregations in general followed their pastors. Vane also left the colony for England before affairs had come to a crisis. Mrs. Hutchinson and Mr. Wheelwright were tried and banished, and their adherents lost their civil rights. The colony had once more purified itself, and strengthened itself in its aspirations toward the ideal in the minds of its chief men.

Mrs. Hutchinson and many of those who thought as she did removed from Massachusetts Bay, and, purchasing of the Indians the largest island in Narragansett Bay, they settled there. They made but a turbulent settlement for a time, quarreling with each other, separating and joining again. Mrs. Hutchinson subsequently moved to Long Island, where

she was some little time after murdered in an Indian war. Gorton planted Warwick, in Rhode Island, in 1642. Wheelwright, on leaving Massachusetts settled a few miles from its northern line at what is now Exeter, in the State of New Hampshire. There were other settlements here on the Piscataqua River, notably Dover and Strawberry Bank. New Haven was also settled at about this time by a party of strict Puritans coming from England under Davenport. They set up a system of government even more rigid than that of Massachusetts. The Bible, and more particularly the Old Testament, was taken as the guide for all things. The new colony prospered, and was able to send out settlers along Long Island Sound and also inland. Connecticut also had extended up and down the Connecticut Valley.

There were in the year 1642 more than twenty-five thousand English inhabitants in New England. They were gathered together in separate jurisdictions and scattered all over the country. Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven were the most considerable of the governments. There were three separate groups in Rhode Island, and along the New Hampshire and Maine shore was a scattered string of settlements, subject to no government at all. The chief men in the leading colonies saw a need of some union. The French and the Dutch were possible enemies on the north and the south; the Indians were always at the border. The four chief colonies joined themselves into a confederacy for mutual offense and defense. The Rhode Island settlements and the few towns to the north were refused admittance, for the spirit of their government was by no means in keeping with the Puritan ideal. The Confederacy was loose in its nature—that is, the individual colonies delegated to the general government certain powers in peace and war, but reserved to themselves the care of their own internal affairs. Two commissioners from each colony made up the governing body of the New England Confederation, forming a board both executive and legislative in its nature. The great difficulty in the case lay in the great preponderance of Massachusetts, which, hav-

ing almost twice as many inhabitants as all the other three colonies put together, would be likely to assert a superiority which was by no means in keeping with the ideas of the smaller colonies in the matter. The articles of confederation gave equal power to all four members. But, as it proved, Massachusetts was continually endeavoring to overstep the bounds of that instrument, and thereby endangering the existence of the union. Although the confederation lasted for twenty-three years, there was much disagreement, owing to the overbearing, though highly excusable, behavior of the Massachusetts colony.

We should by no means give a fair view of the growth of the colonies if we omitted mention of the missionary work done among the Indians. As the Massachusetts colony grew too strong to fear any danger from the red men, she gradually assumed the position of mother over them as far as their religious welfare was concerned. The story of the labors of her earnest ministers among the Indians is the most pathetic episode to be found in the history of the colony. The picture of the stern Puritans, their hearts reaching out in pity for the wretched spiritual condition of these poor heathen, and endeavoring in their own hard and bungling way to do what needs all the sympathy and tenderness that human nature is capable of, gives us a half-inspiring, half-melancholy view of the character of the Puritan ideal, which should be taken into consideration when we think of some of its blacker qualities. No idea of their fond hopes and longings in this direction can be gained better than that got from the quaint names of the little pamphlets which described their struggles and reverses and their humble successes. "The Day Breaking if not the Sun Rising," comes first ; next in order are "Clear Sunshine" and the "Glorious Sunshine."

The first efforts were made by Thomas Mayhew, who, in 1644, went to work among the Indians in Martha's Vineyard. In 1646 John Eliot made his first attempt. Assembling certain of the Indians he went among them on Sunday afternoons with some friends, and preached and prayed with them

and endeavored to answer such questions as they might ask. The Indians were interested, and sometimes would ask such questions as puzzled the worthy divine. Others were contumacious. "Who made sack?" asked one on hearing of the powers of the Creator. For years the work went on. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was formed in England. An Indian college was established at Harvard, for the training of ministers who might carry the Gospel to their own people. Eliot translated the Bible into the Indian language. Later the "praying Indians," as they were called, were gathered together into towns, and Daniel Gookin was chosen to be ruler over them. Progress was slow, but the generous men hoped greater things and had faith. But their hopes were destined to remain unfulfilled. In 1672 there were among the Indians fourteen towns and two churches, and eleven hundred "souls yielding obedience to the Gospel." But the number declined. Ten years afterward there were but four praying towns, and afterward the numbers rapidly declined. In Plymouth, too, the work was not productive of more lasting results. But the movement must be remembered as showing a bright side to the Puritan character.

We must, however, now take up a darker topic. We have seen how zealous were the inhabitants of Massachusetts for purity of religious thought as they understood it. Roger Williams and Mrs. Hutchinson are examples of the colony's purging itself of such evil elements. In the same line is the episode of the Quakers. These people, rising into notice in England through their sincere if eccentric views, were attracted to New England by the idea borne in upon them that it was necessary for them to bear their testimony to a people where the inner light, as they esteemed it, was not permitted to shine. They courted persecution and received it. The punishment of one drew many. The rulers of the colony looked on their appearance with the same disfavor with which they beheld all other difference with their religious opinions. Holding strongly to their idea of what was

right, they could not in that age see with complacency the spread of religious views opposed to them. For the sake of the souls committed to their hands they could not remain still. The Quakers were whipped, mutilated and banished. They returned again and again. Persecution only served to strengthen their desire to bear their testimony against such unrighteousness. At last four of them, on returning to Massachusetts after repeated banishment, were hanged. Even the most extreme measures were better than the spread of heresy; such was the opinion of Endicott, then governor, and of Norton. But they had gone in this too far, and popular sentiment forbade the continuance of such harshness. The Quakers conquered.

We must look at both sides in considering the Puritan proceedings against the Quakers. We must not content ourselves with saying that the Puritans were bigoted and fanatical. We must acknowledge also that it appeared to them that the presence of the Quakers endangered the structure of that Commonwealth to sustain which they held to be their highest duty in the sight of God, before which all other considerations were not to be thought of for a moment. Undoubtedly the Puritans were harsh, bigoted, fanatical, cruel. They were also earnest, sincere, religious, and firm to their idea of right.

The Quaker invasion of Massachusetts shows us the Puritan Commonwealth at its height. The State was founded on the law of God. None but truly religious persons had a hand in shaping its course. It had spread over the country and had prospered largely in its planting and its commerce. Having overcome its Indian neighbors it was endeavoring to raise this wretched people into a better state. And it had never hesitated to purge itself in the harshest manner in order to keep pure those doctrines on which rested the whole foundation of the State.

It may seem curious that a mere colony should have been able to place itself in such a position. In truth, the colony had, up to this time, been virtually independent of England.

The people had defied the English power when their charter was demanded. They had refused to allow the English flag to be spread over their towns. They administered justice in the name of God and not in that of the king. They coined money themselves. They had denied the right of appeal to England from the judgments pronounced by their own courts. They paid her no taxes. In a word, they were and for some years had been practically an independent State. To appreciate this clearly we must recall to mind some of the chief events of English history since the settlement of Boston in 1630.

CHAPTER V.

Philip's War.

King Philip's War—Suspicions of Plymouth Colony—Indian Alarm at Swansea—Neutrality of Narragansett—Danger in Connecticut—Massachusetts—Troops March for Rhode Island—Defeat of Narragansetts—Burning of Lancaster—Burning of Marlboro—Battle in Pawtuxet—Critical Contest.

THE most critical incident in the first century of New England life was that of Philip's war. Philip was an Indian chief, whose native name was Metacom or Metacomet. He was one of two sons of Massasoit, the early friend of the Plymouth colonists, at whose request the famous names Alexander and Philip had been given to these two young men, with fit explanations as to the greatness of the Greek chieftains who had formerly borne them. Alexander was the older of the two, but he died not long after his father, and Philip succeeded to such rights and power as he had, as sachem of his tribe.

Rightly or wrongly, the heads of the Plymouth colony very early suspected Philip of intriguing against them with the Dutch of New York, who were always feeling their way along Long Island Sound. It was even thought that Philip communicated with the more distant French on the northern and western frontier. Between the valley of the St. Lawrence and the settlements in Massachusetts and New Hampshire there was a wild wilderness region, only used by the Indians as a hunting-ground. But there were paths through it, perfectly well known; the distance is not great, and a dread was felt even then of a possible invasion from Frenchmen, a dread which another generation fully justified.

Philip himself, once and again, tried to persuade the people

of Plymouth that they did him injustice. He came to one and another quite important conference with them and gave securities of different kinds that should bind him to keep the peace with them and others. But they never lost sight of him, and it would seem that their leaders never ceased to suspect him. Meanwhile he gained more influence among his own people than any other chieftain known to us, at any period of New England history.

For many years there was thus a sensitive feeling between the Plymouth colonists and Philip, and this sensitive feeling extended to a less degree into the Massachusetts Colony. The bolt fell at last in June, 1675. In that year and the next the colonists of New England fought, as they believed, for their lives and their very existence against the Indians, who were thoroughly aroused to making every effort in their power. It is curious now to observe that this was just a hundred years before the great struggle which resulted in the independence of the United States. But when that struggle came, men were so engaged in the crisis itself that thus far no one has found in the history of 1775 any allusion to the fact that, in the marshaling of men, they were celebrating the centennial anniversary of the most critical moment in the history of their infant State.

On the 21st of June, 1675, Winslow, the Governor of Plymouth, sent a letter by express to Leverett, the Governor of Massachusetts Bay, to say to him that the Indians had alarmed the people of Swansea, and that they had retreated to their block house. Swansea was a frontier town on the edge of Rhode Island. The Massachusetts Council assembled at once and sent delegates to the Narragansetts, with whom they were in alliance, ordering them not to come into any league with Philip. They at once ordered the militia of Boston and the neighboring towns to draft a hundred able-bodied soldiers for an expedition, and these men were summoned to meet at six in the evening on the 25th of June. On the next day Dennison was appointed their commander, and under Captain Henchman and Captain Prentiss they marched

south against what enemy they might find. Meanwhile the Plymouth men had sent a body of troops to protect Swansea, and on the 24th, 25th and 26th days of June the first blood was shed by the Indians, who killed five or six persons. It will be difficult now to say how far the Nipmucks and the Narragansetts at first engaged in the controversy. They declared that they were innocent of any complicity, but public opinion in New England at that time was sternly and bitterly against all Indians, and the declaration of these men was never received as any thing but a blind. Boston at once raised eight companies of troops, and in all eight hundred and fifty men were called out to suppress the rising of the Indians, whatever it might be.

Whatever had been Philip's plans, he was alarmed by the rallying of the forces of Massachusetts and of Plymouth. Almost immediately after the affair at Swansea, Mendon, in the western part of the Massachusetts Bay settlements, was attacked by some Nipmuck Indians. This was a tribe different from the tribe of which Philip was the immediate chief. The colonists of both colonies were satisfied that a general movement was attempted against them. Hutchinson, with twenty troopers, went on an errand of peace to meet a great party of Nipmucks at Brookfield. He did not find them at the place agreed upon. Going farther in search of them he fell into an ambuscade, was wounded himself, and eight of his party were killed. This was an evidence that the Nipmucks meant serious war. Hutchinson's party retreated to Brookfield, where they were at once besieged and were in great danger. But they were relieved by a party of forty-seven horsemen under Willard. Philip at once came across to the Nipmucks and congratulated them on their successes. From this time certainly his tribe and the Nipmucks were allies.

The Narragansetts, however, had bound themselves to remain neutral in this contest. When, in September, commissioners from the colonies of Massachusetts and New England and Plymouth met they still hoped that the Narragansetts

were not their enemies. They agreed to raise a thousand soldiers for a war which "had been in the first rise a defensive war, but must now, like other wars, be a war of attack as well as defense." It is supposed that at this time the number of colonists in New England and the number of Indians was about equal. The Indians were acquainted with firearms, and, through the whole contest which followed, had little difficulty in providing themselves with ammunition.

The commissioners of the colony held a session almost continuous through the weeks of a sad and anxious autumn. The inhabitants of the frontier villages up and down the Connecticut lived in danger, and one after another was abandoned. The head-quarters of the Massachusetts men were at Hadley. A party of them was sent to Deerfield, which had been abandoned, to bring in the grain which the settlers had left there. This party was under Lothrop. They succeeded in their immediate object and proceeded on their return with the grain and some furniture of the inhabitants, marching slowly, while their rear was protected by a company under Mosely. At about seven o'clock in the morning of the 18th of September, as they stopped to gather grapes at "Bloody Brook," as the place has been called ever since, they were assailed by Indians, and all but seven or eight were killed. The company was known as the "Flower of Essex," being a body of picked men from this county on the seashore. Mosely heard the firing, marched to relieve his comrades and was able to carry away the wounded. He buried the dead and retired on Hadley. After this attack Springfield, Hadley, Northampton and Hatfield were the only towns which the English held on the Connecticut River. These towns were attacked once and again, but after October there were no serious attacks, and it was supposed that the Indians had fallen back upon the Narragansetts. From this time the commissioners believed no longer that the Narragansetts were their friends.

It seems probable that the success of the Nipmucks on the Connecticut River emboldened them. At first they had affected a willingness to give up the hostile Indians whom

they were protecting. But when the day for the surrender arrived they failed to keep their promise. The commissioners at once determined to raise an additional force of a thousand men to fight against the Narragansetts. They gave the Narragansetts fair notice of this, intimating that they must make reparation for damages in the past, with security for future fidelity. On the 9th of December the Massachusetts troops marched for Rhode Island. They were joined by two companies from Plymouth, five from Connecticut, and fifty allies from the Mohegans. Governor Winslow took the command at the place known as Pettyquamscot, where the English had their farthest garrison. They knew that the Narragansetts were to be found at their fastness eighteen miles to the westward.

This place is singularly well adapted for the necessities of savage warfare. It reminds one of the points described in the life of King Alfred of England as the strongholds of the Saxons against the Danes, or the Danes against the Saxons. An island of five or six acres is surrounded by a large swamp, which can only be approached on certain artificial causeways. On the inner side of this swamp the Indians had driven rows of palisades, and the only entrance between these palisades was a rude bridge four or five feet from the ground and water. This bridge was protected by a block house. The English force attacked on the 19th of December. They had marched from their block house at five in the morning. They had spent the night without shelter under the open sky. Their march of eighteen miles was through wet snow, and they arrived at the savage fortress at one in the afternoon. There was no opportunity for stategy. The place must be taken by storm if taken at all. Accordingly they stormed in column over the bridge. Johnson, of Roxbury, was shot at the head of his company. Davenport, of Boston, entered the inclosure only to be killed. Gardner, of Salem, a third captain, and two of the Connecticut captains were killed at once. Bradford, a major of Plymouth, was wounded. Mason, another Connecticut captain, was wounded, and died of his wounds in a few

days. These losses of officers show how close was the conflict. But the English were all lost if they did not keep on. They continued the conflict for two or three hours. It is said that they once drove their assailants out of the fort, and that they rallied and regained their ground. But as the day closed the English held it in triumph. They finished their work by setting fire to the wigwams inclosed in the fort. Of the thousand men who joined in the attack seventy were killed and a hundred and fifty wounded. With the loss of the wigwams they had no place left them for shelter. They did not dare spend the night in the open air with their wounded, and in a new storm of snow they marched back to the town of Wickford, where they found shelter in Smith's plantation.

By this summary act the force of the Narragansetts was completely broken. It was thought at the time that Philip was in the action, but it afterward proved that this was not true.

Not many weeks passed before Lancaster, a town only thirty-five miles west from Boston, which had nearly three hundred inhabitants living in fifty houses, was attacked at sunrise and, excepting two fortified houses, was burned. The house of Rowlandson, the minister, became a fortress, in which several of the people took refuge. Twelve of them were killed and only one of them escaped, and the rest of them were taken captives. Mrs. Rowlandson, with her daughter, a child of six years old, was among these. The child died after some days, but the mother remained with the savages for three months. She was then ransomed for twenty pounds and joined her husband. Her narrative is one of the most interesting accounts which we have of these calamities, and shows, better, perhaps, than any other authority we can consult, the nature of the life of the New England Indians of that time. The town of Marlboro was the next to suffer, on the 26th of March; and at the same time, in a battle in Pawtuxet, fifty Englishmen and eight Indians were killed by a party of Narragansetts. On the same day several of the English, who were going to Springfield to divine service, fell into

ambush and were killed. Through the spring and summer of 1676 such predatory warfare was carried on, and ten or twelve towns more were wholly or partially destroyed. The warfare continued in the Narragansett country and on the western frontier of Massachusetts. At last, on the 18th of May, Turner, of Boston, in command of an English force, heard of a large party at the falls of the river Connecticut which now bear his name, and with a party of nearly two hundred men surprised them at daylight. Three hundred of the Indians perished. The English lost only one man. But in Turner's retreat, for he did not dare to hold his position, his column was surrounded and he was himself killed, with more than forty of his men. Emboldened by this success the Indians attacked Hatfield and fired several buildings. But the garrison was relieved from Hadley and the Indians driven away.

A little after, Talcott, with a considerable English force, attacked a strong Indian force and routed them, and after this experience the western frontier of Massachusetts was comparatively free from danger. On the whole, the campaign had been disadvantageous to the Indians. In Plymouth a large number of them surrendered. Toward midsummer, however, Philip was heard of, and it was evident that he was proposing to attack Taunton, in the southern part of eastern Massachusetts. Strong parties were sent against him, and his own men failed to support him. Church, a successful Indian fighter, pressed him close, and in the immediate neighborhood of Mount Hope, which had always been recognized as Philip's head-quarters, the king met his fate. A friendly Indian, who had been named Alderman, was stationed with an Englishman at a point where it was thought the fugitives must pass, when they saw Philip running. The Englishman's gun missed fire; the Indian's took effect. A bullet passed through the heart of the chief and he fell dead with his gun under him. Although other outrages followed, with the death of Philip the war came substantially to a close.

The contest was critical. The colonists fought for their

existence. Almost every able-bodied man was under arms, and it has been estimated that one tenth of their soldiers were killed. It is to be observed that in the whole struggle their governments made no appeal to England. They did not ask for a single soldier, nor for an ounce of powder, nor for another gun beyond what they had. They felt it was their battle. They regarded themselves as independent of the Crown, and they wanted none of the Crown's assistance. If they must succumb without its aid, they would succumb. This proud independence was observed at the time, and is important as explaining the attitude of the descendants of the same men in another century.

CHAPTER VI.

New York, 1609.

United Netherlands—Henry Hudson's Expedition—His Return to Europe—Nahant and Block Island—Purchase of Manhattan—System of Patroons—Contest of Flags Between the Dutch and English—Removal of Van Twiller—Appointment of William Keift—Increase of Emigration—Trouble with the Indians—War Between the Iroquois and Algonquins—General Treaty of the Hostile Tribes—Warlike Movements of Dutch and English.

AT the end of a long war to throw off the yoke of Spain, the United Netherlands in the beginning of the seventeenth century found themselves the commercial leaders of the world. They had nearly a hundred thousand sailors in their service and, for commerce and war, a fleet of three thousand ships. Under the Dutch standard navigators and explorers of all nations might sail in search of riches and for discovery.

Henry Hudson was probably a native of London. He was a friend of Captain John Smith, and other adventurers of the time whose thoughts turned constantly upon new routes to India. Under the direction of an English company, he had made two voyages in search of a north-western passage across the Northern Ocean, when the report of these enterprises induced the directors of the Dutch East India Company to send for him to come to Amsterdam. In January, 1609, they signed a contract to furnish him with a small vessel, about three hundred dollars for his expenses, and the promise of a suitable reward should he find a practicable passage.

They wanted him to go by the northern shore of Asia, and on the 6th of April, 1609, Hudson started, with not more than twenty men, in the *Half-Moon* along the cost of Norway toward the North Cape; but then, contrary to his instructions,

he turned his ship toward the American coast, and after sailing along the shore near Cape Cod, and as far south as Chesapeake Bay, he sailed away north again, and on the 2d of September came to anchor. Here he saw an island with low hills, and what they thought were three great rivers. Indians crowded to the shore and put off in canoes to welcome them. Hudson explored the wide river, hoping, doubtless, to find it the longed-for passage to the South Sea; but, persuaded at last that it was only a stream flowing far from the north, he turned about, not far from Albany, and descended it again. He named it the River of the Mountains; but since then it has received the name of its discoverer, and it is the Hudson.

He sailed away at once and returned to Europe, expecting to report to his Dutch employers. But the English government, which had waked up to the fact of his enterprise, refused to let him leave the country (for he had put into an English port), reminding him that Englishmen owed their services to their own nation. To his country Hudson sacrificed his life, for in an English voyage a year afterward, he was abandoned by his ship's crew in a small boat, among the ice fields of the great bay which bears his name.

Neverthelesss, the *Half-Moon* found its way to Amsterdam and a few Dutch merchants engaged a part of her crew to go back again to bring them furs from the savages. The trade proved highly successful, and Manhattan Island became the chief station for the little Dutch vessels which came and went up and down the river, bargaining with the Indians for good furs in exchange for beads, knives and hatchets. The river at first was called Mauritius, after Maurice of Orange.

The Dutch seamen explored the neighborhood, went as far along the coast as the promontory of Nahant, on the New England shore, and left their traces in the names of Block Island, and Cape May. A trading company was formed which was given control over a region which was named "New Netherland," which included the sea-coast between 40 and 50 degrees. The profits were enormous for its Amsterdam proprietors. It established friendly relations with all the Indians

it met, and with a few exceptions lived in harmony with them without seeking to establish any firm footing in the land.

In 1621 the States General of the Netherlands chartered the great West India Company, which formally took possession of New Netherlands, thus superseding the work of smaller traders. Early in March, 1623, the ship *New Netherland* sailed from Holland carrying the first colonists, in the true meaning of the word. They were Walloons, a people of French origin, who have lived for generations in the Southern Netherlands. They professed the reformed religion, and being persecuted for their faith, like the Puritans, they longed for a country of freedom which they could call their own.

Three of their governors in turn managed the growing colony. One of them, Peter Minuit, bought the whole Island of Manhattan from the Indians for about twenty-five dollars, and all the chief interests of New Netherland became centered in this spot. The houses of the colonists were only cottages built of wood and bark. There was one stone building thatched, the head-quarters for the colony, and a large quadrangular building of defense, Fort Amsterdam.

In 1628 the island of Manhattan had a population of two hundred and seventy colonists. It had sent friendly greetings and even an embassador to the English colony at Plymouth, who exchanged congratulations with Governor Bradford. This dignitary was courteous but somewhat stiff, not hesitating to say that he thought the Dutch had no right to the land they occupied. There was, however, no serious dispute, and friendly relations continued between Manhattan and Plymouth.

The prosperity of the colony was greatly endangered by the establishment by the Amsterdam Company of the system of "patroons"—large landed proprietors with almost unlimited powers, protected and defended by the company. These proprietors bought from the Indians and took possession of large tracts of land which they ruled like absolute lords, and sought also so large a share in the profitable trade with the Indians that the whole progress of the colony was hindered.

In the spring of 1633 a new difficulty arose. Wouter Van Twiller was the new director of the colony sent out from the company at Amsterdam. He was fat and fussy, narrow in perception, and quite unfitted for his post; but he was married to a Van Rensselaer, of the chief family of the patroons. Soon after he arrived an English vessel, the *William*, entered the harbor, bringing as supercargo one Jacob Elkins, who had been there before as commandant of Fort Orange in the Dutch company's orders. He had now entered the English service, and brought his new masters to the old place to show them the rich possessions there.

The *William* anchored in the bay, and Director Van Twiller accepted with pleasure the polite invitation of the English captain to dinner. This passed off pleasantly; but afterward Elkins announced that they were going up the river to trade with the Indians and to see for themselves, as he boldly remarked, "the land that belonged to the English," since Hudson, the Englishman had discovered it.

Van Twiller was greatly excited and ran up and down, beside himself. He caused the flag of Orange to be raised on the fort and saluted three times, whereupon the English captain ran up the English flag on board the *William* and had that saluted three times, after which he weighed his anchor and sailed away up stream before the eyes of the director and under the flag of the Prince of Orange. Van Twiller could think of nothing better to do than to open a barrel of wine before his door and drink bumper after bumper, urging his people to do the same for the love of him and the Prince of Orange.

After hesitating several days Van Twiller managed to send off some soldiers from the fort in pursuit of Elkins, who compelled him to return, and the *William* was then ordered to leave the harbor.

On her return to England the owners of the *William* made complaint, with demand for damages, since the object of its voyage had been defeated by the Dutch. The application was denied and a controversy arose, but the matter was

for the time dismissed by the Dutch and English governments.

For the first twenty years of its settlement Manhattan was little else than a mere trading post, yet it increased in some degree. The incompetent governor, Van Twiller, grew more and more imbecile in his management of public affairs, although with all his imbecility he managed himself to grow rich. In 1637 he was removed and his successor appointed, William Kieft, of Amsterdam. This was no great improvement; for he came with a bad reputation for honesty, though a good one for skill in the management of his own affairs.

The chamber at Amsterdam in 1638 for the first time opened the New Netherland trade to competition, virtually free, which greatly increased emigration. Ship after ship brought colonists, people of all conditions, who had suddenly come to regard the new country as a land of promise. From the other colonies also came recruits. Many came from Virginia, bringing with them cherry and peach trees and their better method of tobacco culture. Prosperity came with the new-comers and showed them to be a better class of people than their predecessors. Healthy and rapid progress was now to be looked for.

But a terrible calamity was about to check this prosperity. The Dutch had hitherto treated the Indians with wisdom and justice, but the management of Kieft's administration was different. Guns and ammunition had been unwisely sold to the natives, and when quarrels arose these were used against the settlers. In return for attacks by the Raritans upon a settlement Kieft offered a bounty for every head of a Raritan Indian that should be brought to him.

About the same time the Indians of Connecticut were roused against English and Dutch alike, and every-where arose the dread of a general Indian war.

A war among the savages themselves was the beginning. The Indians who inhabited the Atlantic slope and the basin of the lakes were divided into two great families—the Iroquois and the Algonquins. Among all the Indians of the New

World there were none so politic and intelligent, so fierce and brave, as the true Iroquois, the people of the Five Nations of New York. They were a terror to all the surrounding tribes; their speech and lineage were different from that of the Algonquins, to whom belonged the tribes of river Indians who lived along the Hudson, and the Narragansetts and other New England tribes. These latter tribes all trembled at the name of Mohawk, the eastern tribe of the Five Nations, and paid them tribute.

These were the enemies who came sweeping down upon the Algonquins, armed with guns the Dutch had furnished. Without resistance these southern Indians fled through the woods, seeking refuge with the white men, although they themselves had been lately hostile. Humanity urged that they should find protection, but Kieft, and those who shared his views, resolved to attack them. A frightful massacre ensued of the defenseless Indians fleeing before another enemy of their own hue.

The results, though terrible, were but natural. The Algonquin people every-where rose against the whites. Every swamp and wood in the country seemed to swarm with enraged savages. A short peace was followed by renewed hostilities. A band of savages attacked the little house of Anne Hutchinson, near New Rochelle, and she and her whole family were murdered, except one granddaughter, who was carried away captive. The people naturally attributed these misfortunes to Kieft, for although proclamation was made for a solemn fast in acknowledgment that it was "owing to their sins," they all accused the director, and not themselves. The terror lasted through a long winter, savages lurking every-where, houses in flames, women and children starving, the Indians every-where keeping away from bodies of organized troops, so that resistance availed but little.

In the beginning of 1644 two Indian villages were surprised and sacked. Other successes followed, and at last a decisive blow was struck in Connecticut which silenced the eastern tribes. In another year the Indians themselves began to

show a wish for peace, and on the 30th of August, 1645, the citizens of New Amsterdam assembled on the ground now known as the Battery, witnessed the smoking of the pipe of peace, and the conclusion of a general treaty of all the hostile tribes.

On the 6th day of September New Netherland held a day of thanksgiving for the ending of the long and terrible Indian war. Sixteen hundred savages had been killed; but there was not a single Dutch settlement that had not been attacked and almost always destroyed.

Now, however, in spite of the check the country had received, courage began to revive, houses were rebuilt, and lands cultivated once more. Best of all, the origin of all their misfortunes, Kieft, the director, was, after a second urgent appeal, recalled by the company at home. His successor was appointed, and the anxious colonists of Manhattan were greatly encouraged.

The Dutch had settled along the river banks rather than along the sea-shore, chiefly because it was more convenient for the Indian trade. Thus by a glance at the map we may see that the English settlements in New England and those in Maryland, Virginia and Carolina were separated by the two lines of Dutch settlements on the Hudson and the Delaware. It was not unnatural that the English authorities should have felt that some time or other New Netherland must come into their hands if their American colonies were to be what they desired. The colonists themselves in a measure desired the same thing, for though there had been no open rupture with the Dutch there had been not infrequent disputes. There was no particular ground, however, on which the English could claim the territory save that of prior discovery. But this objection weighed but little with Charles II., and in 1664, in time of peace, Colonel Nicolls and certain other commissioners left England charged with various duties, and, among other things, directed to assert the English claim of possession on account of discovery by the Cabots. These commissioners had with them a force of

nearly five hundred men, and they were ordered to recruit more in New England. The Massachusetts men refused to have any thing to do with the business (for the commissioners had other and unpopular business with the colonists of the bay); but the Connecticut men were not unwilling to march against the Dutch, whom they had never considered very pleasing neighbors. In August, 1664, the English fleet appeared before New Amsterdam. Stuyvesant the wooden-legged was in command of the town; but the place was in no condition for defense. There were no walls to defend, no men to defend them, and no arms or ammunition to defend them with. In other words, the place was very weakly fortified. Stuyvesant, however, was plucky enough for any thing, and resolved to try to defend his trust. He received a letter from Colonel Nicolls, the English commander, but would have nothing to do with the proposition and tore the paper up. But the people of the town, thinking that something was going on, gathered together the pieces and read them. Then, on hearing the terms which Nicolls offered, they begged Stuyvesant to surrender. But Sutyvesant stumped about and swore that he would defend the place to the last. He was, however, the only man of that opinion, and finding out that he was utterly deserted he submitted to the terms offered. He marched out with the garrison with the honors of war and the English took possession. The other towns followed the example, and the conquest of the New Netherland was complete. The towns on the Delaware also surrendered, and the country afterward known as "The Jerseys" was made over to Berkeley and Carteret and a new company. The name of the province was changed to New York and the name of the town also; for to James, Duke of York, afterward King of England, was the province all granted by Charles II., to whom power was given to make laws and in all ways to look to the good of the colonists. Nicolls was the first governor, succeeded shortly by Lovelace. This last was governor in 1672, when war broke out between England and Holland, in which year a Dutch fleet appeared before New York and captured the

place as easily as the English had done eight years before. The name was changed again, this time to Orange, in honor of William of Orange, the stadtholder. The Dutch, however, only held the province through the war, and at the peace it was given back to England.

It formed the necessary connecting link between New England and the southern colonies. Without New York the colonies could never have united; could never have grown strong enough to shake off their allegiance to the mother country. But all this was then in the future. Probably there was no thought in England or the colonies save rejoicing at the appropriation of New York. The Duke of York again took charge of it, and named as governor Sir Edmund Andros, a man of some name in American history, of whom we shall hear again.

CHAPTER VII.

Government of New England Changed.

The Restoration of Charles II.—His Demands on Massachusetts—Terms With Other Colonies—A Commission Sent to New England—It Arrives at New York—Passes to Boston—The General Court Meets—Controversy With the Commission—Victory of the General Court—Decline of the Puritan Spirit—Its Causes—Its Progress—The Years Following the Commission—Maine and New Hampshire—Mason's Claim and that of Gorges—The Massachusetts Charter Declared Null and Void—The Controversy Ends by the Failure of the Colonists—James II.'s Plan—Sir Edmund Andros—His Success at First—Popular Rising—Andros Imprisoned—William and Mary Proclaimed.

THE restoration of Charles II. was looked upon by the men of New England with some apprehensions. Nevertheless the two houses of the Massachusetts General Court drew up addresses which were forwarded to the king, who returned an answer couched in general terms but not unfavorable. But although nothing was at this time done, it was evident that a change in the management of colonial affairs was to take place. The king was formally proclaimed by all the colonies in the summer of 1660. At the same time Massachusetts drew up a sort of bill of rights and duties in which the colony clearly stated its position. She also resolved to send agents to England to present that position to the king. Bradstreet and Norton were graciously received by Charles, and returned with a royal letter in which he promised to respect their charter, but made certain demands which were the subjects of discussion for the ensuing years. In the first place it was commanded that the franchise should not be confined to church members. Next, the episcopal form of worship should be allowed. The colonists were also required to

take the oath of allegiance, and it was lastly demanded that justice should be administered in the name of the king. The colonists felt that their liberty was gone if they granted these demands.

The other colonies were, on the whole, gainers by the Restoration. Rhode Island received a royal charter. So also Connecticut, to which New Haven was joined, not without much opposition on the part of the smaller colony. The union was finally acceded to only with the fear that worse would befall them.

It was finally decided in England to send a commission to regulate affairs in New England and New York. The four commissioners, Nicolls, Cartwright, Carr and Maverick, arrived in the country in July, 1664. Their object was twofold. They were, first, to assert the claim of England to New Netherland and to demand of the New England colonies assistance in enforcing that claim; and, second, they were to see to the state of things in the New England colonies and to provide for the "settling the peace and security of the said country according to their good and sound discretions." That is to say, in other words (as was put forward in certain private instructions received by them), they were to see how the colonies stood with respect to the king; to see whether there was any ground for questioning their charters, and to proceed in every way that they might think best, toward the further establishing of the king's authority in those parts.

The commissioners set to work first in regard to New Netherland, and having demanded and obtained assistance from Connecticut, they departed for the island of "Manhadoes," as it was called, with the success already narrated. On their return (Nicolls remaining in New York, of which he had been appointed the governor) the other three devoted themselves to prosecuting their duties, as far as regarded the colonies of Plymouth, Connecticut and Rhode Island, reserving Massachusetts to the end, as probably more contumacious. And in these colonies they met, on the whole, with success,

their demands being quietly acceded to, though in some cases subsequently ignored. In May, 1665, they all four met in Boston to consider what might best be done with the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

It being about the time of the meeting of the General Court the commissioners presented certain papers to such of the magistrates and deputies as had already assembled, setting forth their instructions; recapitulating the results of the New Netherland expedition, complaining that the king's letter, by them already transmitted, had not been made public, desiring a map whereby they might settle the boundaries of the colonies as they had been ordered, and in a general way stating their position.

At the election the next day Bellingham was elected governor, and, the General Court meeting, about seventy were admitted freemen who were not church members, contrary to the usual practice. Communications now were opened between the commissioners and the court. But the court would not agree to any thing that could satisfy the commissioners. Nor could the commissioners be satisfied with the manner in which the previous demands of the king had been acceded to. The communications resulted in nothing at all. Another proceeding, however, was of more importance. The commissioners took upon themselves, in accordance with their instructions, to declare their readiness to hear a certain case in which appeal was made from the judgment of the colony. The General Court protested against such a proceeding, for the commissioners proposed to hold the trial without a jury. The commissioners, however, insisted, and set an hour for the hearing. At the hour appointed a messenger from the General Court appeared and forbade the people "in his majesty's name and by the authority of his royal charter," to countenance, or abet, or consent to any such proceedings. The commissioners did not insist; they saw that the colony was stubborn and that their proceedings were of no avail, and, with a protest, they left the town. They proceeded to the north, where they attempted disturbances in the settlements on the New

Hampshire and Maine coast, as will be elsewhere recorded. Then they dispersed; Nicolls and Maverick going to New York, and Carr to Delaware, where he had private interests, while Cartwright returned to England with the report of the commissioners.

Although it would at first seem as though the visit of the royal commissioners had ended in a victory for the Massachusetts colony, on looking upon events with reference to subsequent history, it seems as though from this point we must date the beginning of the downfall of that high ideal government, which had existed in the minds of the founders of Massachusetts, and had been partially carried out by the settlement of that Commonwealth. From this point we must date the beginning of that determined attack by the Stuart kings which finally robbed Massachusetts of so much of the freedom she had now for almost forty years enjoyed. From this point we may also date the beginning of that weakening of the Puritan spirit which finally, in the eighteenth century, disappeared before the new spirit which may be called the Revolutionary idea.

The principal causes of this decline are not difficult to note. In the first place the old generation was passing away. Winthrop, Dudley, Endicott and many more of those great men who had conceived the principles of the ideal Puritan Commonwealth were by this time dead. Such ideals are not created in every generation. The events of the earlier years of the century were such as to call forward the highest and noblest qualities of the Englishmen of that day. Their immediate descendants could do little more than to endeavor to preserve the ideals of the fathers. And even this preservation in the case of New England was by no means easy. It was not as though Massachusetts were guarded round about, so that no one could obtain entrance thereto save the Puritans. As the colony grew in strength and prosperity, the number of those who had no stake in the colony save a material one became largely augmented, and the growth of this material spirit was one of the causes of the decline of the Puritan

ideal. But more important than either of these was the fact that the Commonwealth and Protectorate in England were now a thing of the past, and that a Stuart was once more on the throne. Charles II. and his brother, James II., were not men to see with complacency the growth of this Commonwealth in New England. The bent of their minds led them to think, naturally, of repressing it. Nor were there lacking those who should encourage such ideas. There were many in England who looked to America as a means of repairing fortunes broken by the Civil War. There were many who, through the strictness of the Massachusetts Colony, had many a grievance against the Puritan Commonwealth. So there were by no means wanting those whom personal interest encouraged to stand by the side of their lord, the king, and say daily to him, "My lord, remember the Athenians."

We shall see in the next few pages the manner in which the decline proceeded. The commercial and geographical increase of strength was, as we have seen, turned against the Puritan spirit. The strengthening of the colony in relation to the Indians, both in war and in religion, was of no avail. The colony was no longer allowed to strengthen herself internally by casting forth dissentients and keeping out intruders. She was forced to take to herself those who had little sympathy with her spirit. The franchise was to be no longer confined to church members, and the strictness of the primitive Puritan worship was to be broken in upon by the toleration of other sects. And, lastly, the virtual independence of the colony in regard to England was destroyed, and the prerogative of the king was vigorously asserted in many ways, reversing the Puritan idea that the law of God was to be preferred to that of the king, and enforcing with vigor a very different state of things.

For ten years after the visit of the royal commissioners affairs went on in Massachusetts without the slightest connection with England. Nor did England prosecute her attempts upon her colony. There is nothing to chronicle in the progress of the dispute between the two countries; for scarcely

any political connection existed. There was no rumor of English encroachment on the New England colonies beyond the demand of Andros, who had been made Governor of New York, on the colony of Connecticut for a portion of her territory as belonging to his master, the Duke of York.

Maine and New Hampshire had not been included in the charter of Massachusetts ; both had come in a manner under her rule. The four towns on the Piscataqua, "in the patent of New Hampshire," were in 1641 taken under the jurisdiction of the Bay Colony at their own request. And that jurisdiction had been pressed farther along the coast of Maine, where Sir Ferdinando Gorges had conflicting claims as proprietor. The visit of the royal commissioners into those parts had been for the purpose of stirring up disaffection for the Massachusetts government, whereby there might be ground for complaint against the colony in England. But at that time there had been but little success in that direction.

Ten years afterward, however, in England the claims of Mason and of Gorges were both revived, and memorials were offered to the Committee of the Privy Council to whose charge colonial matters were delegated. Complaint was also made, by the London merchants and others, of the violation of the navigation laws, to which Massachusetts, as well as Virginia, had been subject; and, as it seemed a favorable opportunity, it was resolved to bring up once more the case against Massachusetts and to endeavor again to assert the king's authority there in a manner more suitable to his prerogative than that which now obtained. A letter was written to the colony and sent by the hand of one Edward Randolph. This man proved himself in the course of the next twelve or thirteen years the persistent enemy of the colony. On this excursion he did his business, but met with little success; for the letter was written in a mild spirit and the colony hardly saw fit to mend its ways. Randolph complained of the infraction of the navigation laws, and was in return told by Governor Leverett, an old Parliamentary soldier, that by their charter they made their own laws, and that the laws of Par-

liament did not concern them. The colony sent two agents back to England with an address for King Charles, but did nothing in the way of changing their customs.

The story of the consequent proceedings is too long to enter upon in detail. As time passed on the king became more and more determined, and the colony was forced to a measure of compliance. One by one the points demanded were given up, but grudgingly, and one at a time did Massachusetts surrender her old independent laws. New Hampshire was taken from her by a decision of the crown lawyers, but she succeeded in retaining Maine by a composition with Sir Ferdinando Gorges. At this time, in the colony, there was no longer the unbroken front which had been shown to previous encroachments of England. Among the descendants of the founders of the colony there were some who were scarcely worthy of their distinguished fathers. There were left many who were ready steadfastly to maintain the liberties of Massachusetts as granted in the charter, but there was also a small party of those who held for the king, and also a larger party of those who preferred submission in time, hoping thereby to gain more than they could hope for if an open breach took place. Yet the colony, though crippled in this manner, would not accede to all the demands of the crown, and finally it seemed evident to the king that extreme measures must be taken. It was determined to begin legal proceedings to see whether the Puritans had not exceeded their lawful powers in the interpretation and execution of their patent. A writ of *quo warranto* was issued June 27, 1683, and the colony was summoned to show cause why the charter should not be declared null and void. No defense was attempted, and sixteen months later a decree was entered vacating the charter.

The government of Massachusetts had now no legal standing. The right over the country reverted to the crown, in which it had resided when the charter had just issued. The long struggle between the colony and the crown had ended, and the Massachusetts men were entirely at the mercy of the king, to be treated as he saw fit. At first, however, no

change was made, and the old government was temporarily continued.

Charles II. died after a few months, and his brother, James II., succeeding him, at first continued the old form of government for the time and subsequently joined Massachusetts, Maine and New Hampshire into one province, for the ruling of which he appointed a council, Randolph being a member, at the head of which was placed as president Joseph Dudley, the son of Thomas Dudley, the second governor of the colony. The difference between this man and his father shows us how the general character of the Puritan colony had declined. Thomas Dudley may represent the men of the days of the settlement of the country, the sturdy Puritans, with their firm ideas about God and government. Joseph Dudley cared more for the favor of the English court than he did about the liberties of his own country. The contrast is most instructive.

There are few events during the presidency of Dudley. Every body was waiting to see what would come next. Connecticut and Rhode Island feared that their charters were to be taken from them. In Massachusetts, men waited to see what would come next. The government was by no means utterly subservient. Randolph met with much difficulty in carrying out his duties as collector of customs, and the little Episcopal Church which was immediately formed found it hard to find a place for worship. The presidency was but a temporary expedient and satisfied no one.

It was the idea of James II. to unite all the northern colonies under one government; for, as is easily seen, he would thereby have more control over his foreign possessions. Accordingly, in 1686, as had been expected, the charter of Connecticut was annulled, and the next year that of Rhode Island was delivered up. In 1686 Sir Edmund Andros, who had been governor of New York, was made governor of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Plymouth,* and was sent to America with orders to join Connecticut to the other col-

* It must be recollected that Plymouth never had a charter.

onies under him. It was part of the plan to join New York also, so that all the northern colonies should be under the rule of one man, and he one who might be depended on to carry out the king's will.

Andros was such a man. As soon as he had established himself at Boston he set to work at once to create such a manner of government as would be to the mind of his master. It goes without saying that his proceedings were distasteful to the colonists. Among his earliest acts were some especially displeasing to the inhabitants in regard to the introduction of the service of the Anglican Church. A congregation had been gathered, but, being refused the use of any of the meeting-houses, it had worshiped in a room in the town-house. Andros was by no means satisfied. He sent for the ministers and demanded that an arrangement should be made whereby the Episcopal Church might meet in one of the Puritan meeting-houses. The ministers answered that their consciences could by no means permit this. Andros did not insist at the time, but later, on Good Friday, he sent to demand the keys of the Old South Meeting-house, that it might be used for divine worship. The request was refused, but he managed, through the sexton, to obtain entrance into the building, and henceforth services were held there regularly at such times on Sunday as it was not required by the regular congregation. Another proceeding of the new governor's, and one which the inhabitants justly looked upon as most dangerous, was in regard to arbitrary impositions of taxes; for, there being no general court, the taxes were laid by the governor and council. Several towns refused to elect the officers who should collect them, and were at once severely taken order with, their principal men being tried and heavily fined. Another arbitrary act of the governor's was concerning land tenures. All tenure of land, he held, had depended on the old charter. This being vacated he held that all right in the soil had returned to the crown, and he therefore forced all persons who desired valid title to obtain it of him; and this confirmation of old deeds was rendered a very expensive

affair. In fact, all administration of justice was rendered particularly difficult and expensive in many ways, both by extortionate fees, by ordering all records to be kept at Boston, by not printing the laws, and by various other ways, all which served to stir up the people.

Early in the year 1689 the governor returned from an expedition into Maine. He had so far succeeded well in carrying out the orders of his master. He had journeyed into Plymouth and Connecticut and had established his rule there firmly. The latter colony had been deprived of its charter, and Rhode Island had been forced to deliver up hers. New York had been added to the Dominion of New England, and every-where the arbitrary government which he had been bidden to set up had seemed to succeed well.

In March, 1689, news arrived of the landing in England of the Prince of Orange. It was nothing but a rumor, and no one could say what would be his success or how the venture might turn out. But it was sufficient encouragement for the inhabitants of Massachusetts, so goaded by the tyranny of Andros, that they were ready for very desperate measures. The principal men of the colony seem to have been in conference already. On the 18th of April a revolution was effected. The beacon on Beacon Hill was lighted, the people met, and the captain of the frigate in the harbor was arrested. Andros was in the fort on Fort Hill. Later in the morning a number of the principal men of the colony, with a company of militia, entered the town-house. Randolph and many of the government were arrested and put in jail. The jailer was put there too, and all were watched over by one Scates, a bricklayer.

The gentlemen deliberating in the town-house drew up a statement of their case and read it to the crowd assembled before the building. Word was sent to order Andros to surrender under threat of an assault of the fort. He was taken and lodged in a private house, and many with him were put in the jail. The next day the castle was seized and the frigate in the harbor. The Andros government was at an end. A

provisional government was adopted under the style of the "Council for the Safety of the People." Bradstreet, the last governor under the old charter, was elected their president. By them a convention was summoned of delegates from the various towns, by whom it was decided that the old charter should be revised, and that those who had held office under it should provisionally resume those offices until a permanent government should be arranged. At about this time a ship arrived from England with orders to proclaim William and Mary. The colony obeyed with very great joy; there was a great parade in Boston and a great dinner at the town-house, and the day was passed with great acclamation and thanksgiving.

With even more ease was the revolution consummated in the other colonies; for in most of them there was no one to make resistance. In Plymouth the old government was set up when news came of what had been done in Boston. So also in Connecticut. In each elections were held for the General Court, and the governor and magistrates who had been in office under the old system were temporarily confirmed in those positions.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Carolinas and Virginia—1680-1700.

Early History of the Carolinas—The Coast at First Neglected—Charles II.'s Charter—Locke's Fundamentals—They Are Never Put in Force—Virginia Without a Governor—Sir William Berkeley Appointed—Oppression of the Colonists—War With Indians—Nathaniel Bacon—His Popularity—Conflict With Berkeley—Compromise Secured—Berkeley Leaves the Province to Bacon—A Convention—Bacon's Unexpected Death—End of the Insurrection—Colonel Jeffrey Succeeds Berkeley—Berkeley's Death—Culpepper Appointed Governor—Foundation of Williamsburg, and the College of William and Mary.

THE early history of the Carolinas is not an easy one to apprehend. Made up of small enterprises with no purpose higher than that of personal advancement, lacking any great principles, or indeed any principle which may serve as the clue through the labyrinth, lacking any great men or great events to give color to the narrative, we find ourselves in a network of details about settlements, Indian fights and quarrels, which is difficult to disentangle and present in an intelligible form.

The region south of Virginia had been in a measure neglected in the work of American colonization. The examples of Ribault and Raleigh in the sixteenth century had not been followed until late in the seventeenth. But by 1660, although no very definite efforts had been made at colonization, there had been different and disconnected settlements made on various parts of the shore south of Virginia. A settlement was made from Virginia on the Albemarle River, which finally became the colony of North Carolina. A settlement of New England men was planted near Cape Fear, but on account of fear of the Indians it was given up. On the same spot, some years later, a settlement was made by emi-

grants from the Barbadoes. These men finally deserted this place and mingled with a settlement made from England some years before, near the present site of Charleston. These settlements had no given forms of government nor any claim to their land save that of "squatters."

This was the condition of the country when Charles II. made over the whole region for nearly five hundred miles south of Virginia to a number of noblemen of England. These men had the same position as that of Lord Baltimore—that is, they were proprietors; and Carolina, as it was then called, was made a proprietary colony. Among the proprietors were Lord Clarendon, Lord Albemarle and Lord Ashley, afterward Earl of Shaftesbury. They at once set to work to devise a scheme of government, and with the assistance of John Locke, who subsequently became famous for other things, they devised the most singular frame of government which we have met with in America. It was called the "Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina," and was in effect a statement of the proposed constitution of society in the new colony. The political and religious system was carefully laid down and the system of land tenure, together with provisions for the administration of justice. The government contemplated was to be an aristocracy, at the head of which were to be the proprietors. The country was to be divided into counties, each made up of eight "seignories," eight "baronies," and twenty-four colonies, each to consist of twelve thousand acres. The proprietors were to own the "seignories," the common people the "colonies." The "baronies" were to belong to the subordinate nobility, which was of two classes—first, the "landgraves;" second, the "caciques." Besides the "seignories," the proprietors (or their heirs) were to possess the following offices: Palatine, chancellor, chief justice, constable, admiral, treasurer, high steward and chamberlain, and each of these officials was to be assisted by a court, in which the "landgraves," the "caciques," and the "commons" were to be represented. We have gone so far in our descriptions of the Fundamental Constitutions merely to give an idea of

the utter inappropriateness of the instrument to the small, scattered and struggling colonies which had passed under the rule of the proprietors. Although made by themselves, the proprietors seem to have appreciated the absurdity of their frame of government, for they never heartily endeavored to put it into force. And as for the colonists, they would have nothing to do with it, and made up assemblies which passed laws to suit themselves.

Not that the proprietors did not make any use of their constitution and charter. They at once sent out as many colonists as they could tempt, and with them they sent out Sayle as deputy-governor, and other officers, for the already existing colonies. But they could come to no sort of agreement with the colonists already on the spot. In North Carolina especially the settlers were a turbulent set. One of the laws of that colony prohibited the collection in its borders of any debt incurred outside of the State. The place became, therefore, a great refuge, and in consequence the population was rough and wild. The government over them had been at first only temporary, the proprietary governors always affirming that the Fundamental Constitutions were to be put into force. This declaration rendered things unsettled more. South Carolina improved more than North Carolina, notably through the introduction of the culture of rice, which was found to be particularly fitted to its soil and climate. But neither colony was far advanced in any way at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

During the period in which England was preparing herself for the restoration of the king by putting aside the new Protector, Richard Cromwell—from the spring of 1659 till that of 1660—Virginia was without a governor. In March the General Assembly took upon itself to elect Sir William Berkeley, who had been superseded by the Parliamentary commission. He was confirmed by a commission from the king, Charles II., upon his restoration.

Berkeley ruled his colony with an iron hand. With him religion meant conformity to the Established Church. He

hated non-conformity and set himself against any appeal to human reason in matters of belief. Puritans and Quakers he detested, and regarded their departure from his colony as a good riddance. He says, "I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience into the world, and printing has divulged them and libels against the best governments. God keep us from both."

The colonists under his rule were oppressed, industry was paralyzed, taxes were enormous. Only some pretext for revolt was needed to rouse the people to resistance. The Indians on the frontier were becoming troublesome, yet Governor Berkeley, who perhaps thought such reports were exaggerated, would make no effort to check them. The colonists, determined to defend themselves, avenged upon some Indians—very likely the wrong ones—the murder of one of their colonists. Retaliation followed. All the Indian tribes in the neighborhood were aroused. The colonists of Maryland and Virginia united in an expedition, and a thousand men were sent out under Colonel John Washington, of Virginia, the great-grandfather of George Washington, and Major Thomas Freeman, of Maryland. There was no conflict, only a parley, during which the whites allowed their rage to blind them so far as to execute at once the five chiefs who came to make peace, although they were entitled to safe conduct under all the rules of war. Public opinion even then condemned the act, and Washington was publicly rebuked by the governor. But revenge lay in the hands of the Indians, who spread dismay all through Virginia. The condition of the colonists was deplorable, in constant danger of attack from the savages, who lurked throughout the land. Yet Berkeley remained strangely indifferent to the sufferings of the colonists, and dead, apparently, to their appeals for protection.

A young man named Nathaniel Bacon became greatly moved by the distress of the people around him, and when, in the early spring, savages killed two persons upon his own

plantation, he was roused to action. He swore to avenge the death of his overseer, and, without any commission from the governor, gathered together a considerable force, with which he moved toward the wilderness, attacked a fortified village, burned it, and put one hundred and fifty Indians to death.

This act of Bacon's made him popular enough to be elected for the new Assembly in spite of his defiance of the governor, but it did not prevent his arrest by the order of that dignitary when he came to Jamestown for the meeting of the burgesses. Yet he was allowed to take his seat in that body, and Berkeley, who seems to have had a tender feeling for the young man, in the presence of the whole house extended his forgiveness to him, which Bacon received kneeling, after admitting his crime and begging pardon of God, the king and the governor.

But this reconciliation between the wily old man and the fiery youth was brief. In a few days the rumor ran through the town that Bacon had fled, and soon after the news came that the rebel was marching upon the town with four or five hundred men. It is supposed that Bacon had reason to suspect Berkeley of treachery, and this is the only excuse for his own breaking faith. It was a scene of wild excitement when the governor and council went forth into the street to treat with the rebel leader, who had taken his position, protected by his troops, near the State House. Berkeley and Bacon were both enraged. The governor bared his breast and cried, "Shoot me! 'Fore God, fair mark! shoot me!"

For a moment Bacon controlled himself, and replied with something of respect. But when the governor turned away, followed by his council, the fury of the rebel burst forth, and he shouted, "Damn my blood! I'll kill governor, council, Assembly and all!"

Fusils were pointed at the windows crowded with anxious faces, the pieces were cocked, when some one waved a "handkercher" at a window and called out that they should be satisfied. This person was recognized as an influential citizen.

The soldiers lowered their arms and were marched away, and thus ended the scene.

Berkeley was forced to a compromise, and Bacon's commission was promptly passed by the burgesses and confirmed by governor and council. Not only this, but many other concessions were made by the Assembly for the benefit of the people.

Bacon now speedily brought together the thousand men allowed him by the commission, and set out for a vigorous campaign against the Indians; but the contest soon turned to one between his authority and that of the governor. Berkeley could not let him alone; he proclaimed him an outlaw and marched against him and his thousand men, but was driven from his position and left the province to his opponent, now virtually Governor of Virginia and remarkably popular. Bacon issued a call for a convention, which was responded to by a large assembly of the leading men of the province. Their deliberations were those of a grave body of men who had begun a war of independence; for the movement had grown from a simple desire to protect themselves from the inroads of Indians to a determination to throw off unreasonable restraint.

The result was a determined attack upon Berkeley, who resisted it with varying success. In the end he and his adherents gave up all hope of overcoming the rebels, and one night, in the dark, governor, officials, troops, all departed from Jamestown with the townspeople and their household goods. When Bacon entered the next morning he found the town absolutely deserted and bare of all provisions, and since there was no longer any profit in holding the place he decided to destroy it. That night flames utterly consumed the first English town built in America. The first church that ever was in Virginia was burned to the ground. The place was never rebuilt.

Bacon was now master, and might carry on his schemes of liberty and progress for the colony and push further his Indian victories. But in the very height of his success, and

on the threshold of new enterprises, a trifling illness which he had neglected in the heat of contest began to gain upon him. Nothing checked the progress of the disease, and on the 1st day of October, 1676, not more than six months from the beginning of his exciting career, he died.

The insurrection he had so boldly pushed forward was without a leader. No one was fitted to his task. The inspiration of the violent, enthusiastic Bacon was wanting, and despondency and panic prevailed. The rebellion suddenly died out. The followers of a lost cause scattered to their homes, and Berkeley lost little time in availing himself of the situation. He was reinstated in power and used it without mercy.

As an active argument the rebellion was at an end; it lasted only in the minds and memories of the people, who secretly clung to the cause of their lost leader. The insurrection had cost the colony a hundred thousand pounds, the loss of many lives, and a turbulent summer season; it developed in the people a knowledge of their own power and of the possibility of independence which should bear fruit in another generation. Nor was the triumph of Berkeley lasting. In the beginning of the next year came from England a small fleet bringing Colonel Herbert Jeffreys, armed with a commission to succeed Sir William Berkeley in his office of governor, with commissioners to investigate the causes of the rebellion.

When this fleet returned to England Berkeley went with it, leaving forever the scene of his arbitrary power. The old cavalier was ill and broken in spirit. He sank rapidly after he arrived, without seeing the king, with whom he would fain have pleaded his cause. In a few weeks he died, broken-hearted and disgraced, "which shuts up this tragedy," as an old writer says in his conclusion of it.

The condition of the colony was by no means improved after Bacon's rebellion. Culpepper, who came out shortly afterward as governor, had no particular interest in the colony beyond carrying out the orders with which he had been

intrusted. He was not a Virginian and cared very little about Virginia. He was ordered in his instructions to curtail the popular power so as to leave little more than a mere show of self-government. The franchise was restricted. The calling of assemblies was rendered dependent on the crown, and when assembled they had no power to originate legislation but only to confirm or reject laws drafted by the crown. Culpepper was desirous of standing well with both sides—the colony and the home government; so he applied the laws which had been intrusted to him as leniently as he might, and returned to England, leaving a deputy. He returned shortly, but in a year or two was superseded by Lord Howard, of Effingham. By this time James II. had come to the throne, and Howard's proceedings in the colony bore a strong resemblance to those of his master in England and his co-laborer, Sir Edmund Andros, in New England.

The revolution of 1688 made little change in the Virginia colony. Their energies had been exhausted by Bacon's rebellion, and they gained nothing by the change in dynasty at home. Howard continued to be governor, although, as he preferred to reside in England, he was generally represented by deputy. He was succeeded by Sir Edmund Andros in 1692. Virginia was not fortunate in her royal governors.

We should note here the founding of the town of Williamsburg as capitol of the colony, and more especially the establishment, in 1692, of the second college in the country, to which was given the name of William and Mary, in honor of the new dynasty.

CHAPTER IX.

New York and Pennsylvania.

Quakers—New Jersey—Second Attempt to Colonize by William Penn in Pennsylvania—Delaware—Peace in America—Struggle Between People and Proprietors—Non-warlike Character of the People—Leisler in New York—Attack on Schenectady—Suppression of Piracy—Execution of Kidd—Governor and Assembly.

IN studying the settlement of New Jersey and Pennsylvania we again meet with the people called Quakers, no longer the eccentric individuals, half-deluded by religious excitement, and half-crazed by ill-treatment, who gave the Puritans of Massachusetts so favorable a chance to show which side they would take in the great question of toleration; no longer the fanatic and turbulent religious zealots who by their wild proceedings called to recollection the atrocities of the Anabaptists at Münster. William Penn was the son of an admiral who served England well. Bred up with care, he received the usual education of his day, and went to Oxford, as did other sons of English gentlemen. But here he showed tendencies toward religious views which seemed strange and uncouth to his immediate contemporaries. Foreign travel improved his natural advantages, and when he came back from the Continent he was as refined and elegant a gentleman as any in England. Imagine the astonishment of his friends when it was found that he had embraced the doctrines of the "man in leathern breeches"—that he had become a member of a contemned and almost unknown sect. Yet so it was. Penn was, indeed, the most eminent of the English Quakers, as far as worldly position is concerned, and above the average in manners and intellect. Yet it seems no less doubtful that in twenty years the body of Friends had

immeasurably improved, and now were something far more noble and dignified than if represented only by the sack-cloth wearers of whom we hear in previous history.

New Jersey was at first a part of that large tract of country granted by Charles II. to his brother, James, Duke of York. By this latter the country was sold to two of those noblemen, about the court of Charles II., whose minds turned toward making a fortune in America. Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret obtained a piece of territory of great value, containing nearly all the sea-coast in the whole grant. There were at the time but few settlers in the country, some Dutch, some Swedes, some New Englanders. The territory, with New York, passed into the hands of the Dutch during the war in 1673, but at the peace of Breda again reverted to England, then to the Duke of York again, and so to the former proprietaries. But affairs by no means prospered, and Berkeley sold his share to certain Quakers, who had a desire to set up a colony in the New World as a refuge for their persecuted sect. With this aim in view they applied to their co-proprietary, Sir George Carteret, for a division of the territory, and as a consequence two colonies were made—East and West New Jersey. The Quakers at once set to work to colonize West New Jersey, their share, which was almost uninhabited and thus suitable for new colonization. In the latter years of Charles II. many Quakers emigrated and settled in the country. Some years after the purchase of West New Jersey, Sir George Carteret died, and his assigns sold his rights in the other Jersey to twelve Quakers, who, encouraged by the success of the co-religionists, desired to imitate them. In both these purchases William Penn had a share, but no attempt was made to make this latter colony distinctly Quaker, for there were already many settlers in the region. Certain Scotchmen associated themselves in the venture, and many Scotch emigrated. In both the colonies was there liberty of worship and of political rights. No taxes were to be laid without the consent of the people. The proprietaries had the right of appointment of officers and the right of veto. Such

was the history of the settlement of the Jerseys. The arrangements described lasted until 1702, when the proprietaries, who had not wholly made good their views in the matter, and who had become weary of the many disputes which had from time to time arisen, sold their rights to the crown. The two colonies were joined, and a royal government was arranged for New Jersey much on the pattern of the other royal provinces.

The experiments in New Jersey having failed of success for more reasons than one, William Penn desired to try once more under rather more encouraging conditions. In 1680 he obtained from Charles II. a grant of land, to which the name of Pennsylvania was given, and a charter as proprietary thereof. The deed of land included forty thousand square miles of the territory between Maryland and New York. Like New Jersey, Pennsylvania was a distinctly bounded territory. The other colonies as a rule were held to run to the Pacific, and hence the necessity of the cessions of public land after the Revolutionary War. Pennsylvania had a western boundary. As soon as Penn set forward the scheme for his colony large numbers of Quakers were ready to emigrate. The provisions for government were of the broadest character. There was to be perfect liberty of conscience. There was to be political freedom. There was to be judicial protection for the Indian as well as the white man. Emigration became active at once and so continued for some years. Before the end of the century the colony numbered twenty thousand. The first settlers went forth in 1681. In the next year Penn himself followed, with others. The government had already been established by commissioners sent out by him, and an assembly had been called. As soon as Penn arrived a body of law was drawn up on the principles which he had set forward. He proceeded to deal with the Indians. Having purchased his land of Charles II. in deference to the public law of the time, Penn proceeded, in accordance with his own ideas of equity, to purchase it again of the Indian owners. With these last, said he, the English would always be just, and would

always be at peace. As in West New Jersey, the Indians promised to be faithful friends of the whites. "You are our brothers," the chiefs had then said, "and we will live like brothers with you. We will have a broad path for you and us to walk in. If an Englishman falls asleep in this path the Indian shall pass him by and say, 'He is an Englishman; he is asleep; let him alone.'" And Penn now said to the Indians, "We are the same as if one man's body were to be divided into two parts; we are all one flesh and blood." At a little distance from the great tree at Shackamaxon under which the compact was made Penn named the site for the city of Philadelphia, and ordered a house to be built for himself.

Lower down the river were "the three counties on the Delaware," as they were called. Originally settled by the Dutch, who had been driven away by the Indians, the country had passed into the hands of the Swedes in the time of Gustavus Adolphus. For some time it was held by them, but came later into the possession of the Dutch, and, then, when New Netherlands changed hands, into the power of the English. It was regarded as a part of the province of the Duke of York, but Penn had managed to gain that prince's assent to have it added to his other domain, for he saw the necessity of having free access to the ocean.

Penn remained in America for two years. At the end of that time, having made a fair beginning, he returned to England for a time. He had organized and arranged the form of government for his colony; he had made stable arrangements with the Indians; he had succeeded in carrying through his plans to the contentment and satisfaction of his settlers. The only troubles had been with Maryland, on the south, regarding boundaries, and on the north with New York, as to the jurisdiction of certain territory. He left the government of the province to the president, secretary, and a council. While he was absent matters did not run as smoothly as before, owing to dissatisfaction on the part of the settlers with the officers whom he had left. Affairs were by no means settled by the appointment of some new officials. Not only were

there political quarrels, but religious disturbances were added. A violent schismatic, George Keith by name, was confined in prison on account of his proceedings, and, though it appears that the colony acted by no means severely, the affair was magnified in England, and the government was taken from Penn and transferred to a royal commission. Fletcher, the royal governor, proceeded to endeavor to carry through certain innovations, and affairs were in a very bad position. In 1694, however, Penn received justice at the hands of William and Mary, and received back the government, for which he sent out a deputy, who managed to arrange matters to the satisfaction of the people. In 1699 Penn himself came out from England, intending to pass the remainder of his life in his colony. New changes in the form of government were made; but in 1701, Penn, learning that attempts were being made in England to take away his patent, once more sailed for that country and never returned.

In the succeeding history of Pennsylvania there are two tendencies noticeable. One is the continual struggle between the people and the proprietaries; the other is the indifference displayed, on account of Quaker principles, to any connection with the warlike proceedings of the other colonies. Pennsylvania, being at peace with the Indians within her boundaries, made no contributions, or reluctant contributions at best, to the various expeditions which the other colonies made against the French and Indians, and took no part in the constant struggles with French or Spanish which disturbed the northern and southern colonies. The colony was practically self-governed, the power of the proprietaries was reduced to a minimum, and, though there were constant disagreements in regard to many matters, the colony on the whole flourished exceedingly.

In the southern colonies the Revolution had been accepted easily, and the events of 1688 had hardly caused any change save that of governors. In the northern colonies, gathered all together into one province and oppressed by the rigorous rule of Sir Edmund Andros, the ending of one system and the

beginning of another was not effected without some little disturbance. We have already traced the proceedings in New England.

In New York a more lengthened struggle took place. The people of that colony were by no means homogeneous. There were Dutch, English, and New Englanders, and many others. On the news of William's landing in England and of the imprisonment of Andros the lieutenant-governor practically abdicated. Jacob Leisler, a captain in the militia and a man of influence among the Dutch, seized the power and proclaimed the Prince of Orange. The temporary government set up by him and his followers was confirmed by King William. But he was by no means the representative of the whole colony. The richer Dutch proprietors, the remains of Nicholson's government, and many of the English in the province, were bitterly opposed to him. His proceedings were not such as to reconcile opposition. He was harsh and arbitrary and knew but little of government. The militia sided with him, and he seized upon the town of New York and the fort, while his opponents retired to Albany, where they too proclaimed William III., and set forth their intention not to submit to Leisler. This continued for some time. In 1691 a governor was sent from England, Slaughter by name; but he was preceded by Major Ingoldsby with troops, who demanded of Leisler the surrender of the fort. Leisler refused, for Ingoldsby held no commission from the governor. Protesting his readiness to obey the governor, or his order, Leisler held the fort against the British troops, and even fired on them. On Slaughter's arrival he surrendered, and was at once imprisoned, and he and seven of the principal of his adherents were tried for murder and treason and found guilty. All were reprieved save Leisler and Milbourne, his son-in-law. Slaughter was persuaded, while drunk, to sign the warrants for their death, and both were hanged. It was a cruel and unnecessary act, though, perhaps, justified by technicalities.

During the administration of Leisler occurred one of the

most famous of the many Indian massacres in the history of the French and Indian wars.

The town of Schenectady lies sixteen or seventeen miles west from Albany, on the Mohawk River. In 1690 it was the frontier town of the colony next the Mohawk country. It was palisaded; having two gates, one facing toward Albany and the other toward the west. Within the palisade were nearly eighty houses, the dwellings of the inhabitants, about two hundred in number, nearly all Dutch, and therefore at this time were all standing for Leisler, and at variance with Captain Talmage and such Connecticut militiamen in the block house as were under orders from Albany, where the anti-Leislerites had control. The village, being divided against itself, took no thought of any danger and left both gates open.

Count Frontenac, the Governor of Canada, now saw an auspicious time for an attack on the southern colonies, desiring both to encourage his Indian allies and to strike terror into the Mohawks, whom he was now tempting to leave the English and join him. He prepared to attack the frontier homes of Maine, New Hampshire, and New York. The last named expedition was ready first. Starting from Montreal in the middle of winter, about two hundred men, some Indians and some Canadians, took their way southward. They reached Lake Champlain and held their way toward the head of the lake on the ice. Here they had a council. The Indians demanded the object of the expedition. The leaders said they were to attack Albany. The Indians grumbled and the whole expedition apparently thought it a dangerous undertaking, for, on proceeding farther south, where the road parted, they all took the left-hand road leading to Schenectady. The weather was very bad. They took more time in reaching Schenectady from this point than it had taken all the way from Montreal. They waded in the snow and mud up to their knees. As they approached the town it became colder. They were in a miserable condition, for they did not dare to light a fire for fear of alarming the

inhabitants. They crossed the river on the ice a little above the town, and about midnight stood before the western gate, where, it is said, the inhabitants had erected a snow man to serve as guard for the gate. But this guard gave no alarm, and the French and Indians entered the palisade and surrounded the houses. At a given signal they rushed upon the inhabitants. It was the night after a festivity, and the Dutch were sleeping soundly. The massacre was cruel in the extreme. Men, women and children were killed to the number of almost half the inhabitants. A few escaped, one of them jumping on a horse and riding out of the east gate to Albany, where he gave the alarm. The rest were made prisoners and the town was set on fire, and the war party started for Canada. At Albany a pursuit was organized, but with no important results. The pursuers started several days behind their foes. Following them rapidly, they came on a detached party of Indians, near Montreal, and cut them to pieces.

This was one of the worst blows that was struck from Canada until the great French and Indian war. It is typical enough of the fighting which continued with uncertain cessations for half a century more. Fletcher, who succeeded Slaughter as governor, was not unsuccessful in his Indian wars. The Mohawks repaid the French expedition by war parties that reached almost to Montreal, and Major Peter Schuyler, with two hundred and fifty English, Dutch, Mohawks and Mohegans made a raid which penetrated Canada, did much harm, and retreated in safety, though they narrowly escaped being utterly destroyed.

In other respects, however, Fletcher was not successful, and the colony was well pleased when he was recalled and the Earl of Bellomont was appointed in his stead. This nobleman came to the New World desiring to do his best in government. He was only partially successful. He was given the government of New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, and one of his chief desires was to be able to suppress the piracy which existed on the coast. But here he was not wholly successful. William Kidd, who had been

sent out to suppress the pirates, saw more profit in joining them. Bellomont had been implicated with him before he had been sent out, and he now, of course, particularly desired to bring Kidd to justice. This was done and Kidd was executed. But a certain amount of suspicion attached itself to Bellomont in the transaction. He died while in office, in 1701.

New York history, for the next fifty years, is to be traced, chiefly, in the Indian wars and in the quarrels between governor and Assembly. The royal governors were perpetually endeavoring to compel the people to acknowledge more and more the power of the king and parliament, and the people were as vigorous to assert their own rights. The reluctance of the Assembly to vote the governor a regular salary, and the attempts to enforce the navigation laws and other matters, make up a continued state of quarreling. The French, too, had more easy access to New York than to the other colonies, by the way of Lake Champlain and Lake George, and, although there were no more massacres like that at Schenectady, there were almost continual Indian troubles.

CHAPTER X.

New England for Sixty Years.

The Government of Massachusetts—Sir William Phips—Capture of Port Royal—Unsuccessful Expedition Against Quebec—The New Charter—Maine and New Hampshire—Capture of York—Witchcraft—A Special Commission for the Trial—Connecticut Under the Old Charter—Foundation of Yale College—Expedition to Jamaica—Capture of Louisburg.

THE government made by the men of Massachusetts Bay after the suppression of Andros was only a temporary makeshift, and as such was it understood on all hands. The charter, having been vacated by regular process of law, could not be resumed, as had those of Connecticut and Rhode Island. This provisional government lasted, however, for more than three years, and for that length of time the minds of men were unsettled, it being in no way certain what manner of charter William of Orange might be ready to grant. It must by no means be imagined that, because William was himself opposed to the Stuarts, his ideas as to colonial government would be diametrically opposed to theirs. There was not, on the whole, so very great difference in their general principles in that respect. Both held to the economical principles of the day in supposing that the colony must enrich the mother country, and both were disinclined, by nature, to part with any portion of their prerogative in governing any of their subjects. In one respect William would be an improvement—there would be no danger of religious intolerance. But as for the dependency of Massachusetts, and the Navigation act, it was probable that they would be insisted upon as vigorously by William as they had been by Charles and James.

For the present, however, Sir William Phips, who came over with the order for the proclamation of William and Mary, also bore with him the expression of the king's pleasure that the provisional government should continue until other arrangements might be made.

Sir William Phips is a romantic figure in the history of this period. Born in 1650, in a little settlement on the Kennebec River, one of twenty-six children by one mother, he received little or no education. He passed his youth in farm labor. On attaining manhood, however, he became a ship-carpenter, moved down to Boston, married a widow older and richer than himself, learned to read and write, and became confident of rising in the world, though still at a loss as to the exact means. About this time his mind became full of a sufficiently wild project for going to the West Indies in search of a sunken Spanish ship laden with silver, which had been wrecked some half a century before. He carried this scheme through. He went to England, obtained by some means a king's ship, and after one unsuccessful attempt obtained the treasure, worth a million and a half dollars in the value of money in that day. With this he returned to England, where he was knighted and offered a position in the royal navy. But he preferred to return to New England, and did so.

At this time the Maine and New Hampshire frontier was suffering from French and Indian raids. The colony determined to strike a blow at Port Royal, from whence issued privateers to the damage of their commerce. Sir William Phips was given the command of the expedition and achieved success. That is to say, Port Royal surrendered, and the French fort at the mouth of the St. John was taken and destroyed. But his success in this direction inspired the colony to undertake a more difficult expediton, which turned out less fortunately. This was nothing less than an attempt to capture Quebec, the stronghold and capital of New France. From Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec, the French and Indian war parties found little difficulty in making raids on the exposed English colonies on the Connecticut River or on

the back settlements of New Hampshire and Maine. The English found it difficult to retaliate. From Boston to Quebec by land was no easy expedition, and no victory short of one at Quebec would do service. But the English had the advantage by sea. From Boston, as it proved afterward, New Englanders could be put on board ships and landed at Port Royal, at Louisburg, or at Quebec, where operations might be conducted with no small success. Such, however, was not the lot of the present expedition. When Phips, after many trials and delays, cast anchor off Quebec, he found himself before a superior force, sheltered behind impregnable fortifications. After some fruitless cannonading and some land fighting he had nothing to do but to turn round and race back to New England. Nothing came of the expedition save the depletion of the Massachusetts treasury and the consequent issue of paper money, the first in a long series of disastrous financial experiments.

On his return from Quebec Phips was sent by the colony to England, to assist Mather and the other agents in their labors in getting as favorable a charter as possible from the king. On the 14th of May, 1692, he returned to Boston with the new charter, being himself commissioned as governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay. The new charter was by no means as favorable in respect to the independence of Massachusetts as had been the former one, as interpreted by its patentees. But it had been difficult for Mather to procure one even so good. The old colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth, together with Maine, Nova Scotia, and such country as was included between them, were to constitute the Province of Massachusetts Bay. The governor, lieutenant-governor and secretary were to be named by the king for an indefinite period. The legislative department consisted of a council of twenty-eight, named at first by the king, and a house of representatives made up of deputies elected two by each town. This was small measure for the people who had been accustomed to name the governor, assistants and deputies themselves. In the Legislature, so made up, all bills

required the assent of the governor and were subject also to the veto of the king within three years. The governor was commander-in-chief of the militia and had the appointment of military officers. He had also the appointment of all judges and officers of justice, subject to confirmation by the council. The qualification for the ballot was no longer religious, but depended on property. Liberty of conscience was granted to all Protestants. In certain cases appeal lay to the king in council in England. This charter took more away from the independency of the colonies than had been demanded of them by Charles II.

The French and Indian wars continued with much vigor on the frontier to the north and with slight abatements for half a century. Being nearest to Canada, Maine and New Hampshire were by far the most exposed of all the New England colonies, more, even, than New York ; for at the very north of the line of towns on the Hudson which made up that colony stood Albany, far too formidable to fear any slight Indian raids such as desolated the border country of New England. Even in the time of Andros the French had made such common cause with the Indians of Maine, that the governor had been forced to make an expedition against them ; and after the Revolution, at the approach of war between France and England, the fury and vigor of this frontier warfare increased. Count Frontenac was at this time at the head of affairs in Canada ; a strong and able old man, well used to handling the Indians, and as capable of doing what could be done in his position as any governor New France ever had.

The capture of York, January 25, 1692, is a good example of the fearful sufferings of attackers and attacked in this border warfare. A hundred and fifty converted Indians, urged on by the French priests, took the war-path in the dead of winter, well provided with guns and ammunition. After a long and terrible march they neared York, one of the frontier settlements, a town of perhaps then a few hundred inhabitants. The morning after their arrival a heavy snow fell. Surround-

ing the village early in the evening they attacked it from both sides. One party rushed into the block house, where the women were gathered, others ran through the other houses, killing or taking captive all whom they met. About a hundred of both sexes were killed, about eighty were taken into captivity, and the rest fled into two or three fortified houses, where they were not attacked. The Indians shortly after withdrew, and after setting the town on fire, and destroying all the farm-houses and cattle in the fields around, took up their march into the forest with their booty. Such terrors were not uncommon in Maine or New Hampshire. There were many more atrocious massacres, many more vigorous defenses; but this is a fair illustration of the terrors of frontier life at this time and for many years. The reader knows that New Hampshire was now no part of the province of Massachusetts Bay, the claims of Mason having been declared valid by the law officers of England. New Hampshire was, therefore, a proprietary province, the proprietor at this time being Samuel Allen, who had purchased the title from Mason. He received the royal commission as governor, but the government of the province was organized by John Usher, who had been appointed Lieutenant-governor.

The first proceeding of the Provincial Government of Massachusetts was one whose consequences have covered the Commonwealth with an undeserved infamy. We refer to the court commissioned by Phips to try the witchcraft cases. The belief in witchcraft in those days was in every Christian country well-nigh universal. In England, not long before this, witches in considerable numbers had suffered death by fire, and in New England there had been three or four executions for the same cause before the breaking out of what is generally known as "the Witchcraft Delusion." The people of that day saw much that was supernatural in the phenomena of this world; they solved a portion of the mystery by ascribing it to the devil and his agents, finding authority in their interpretation of Scripture. During the usurpation of Andros there had been a case of witchcraft in Boston,

wherein a wretched Irish woman, on the evidence of four young children whom she was supposed to mysteriously torture, was tried, condemned, and executed. Cotton Mather, one of the leading ministers of the colony, though at that time still young, became intensely interested in the case, and his credulous excitment aroused the feelings of the people. Some three or four years afterward, in "Salem Village," another case occurred. The children of Samuel Parris, the clergyman of "Salem Village," became greatly affected through the evil agency of witches. They underwent pullings and pinchings and prickings; they cried out, imitating the noises of dogs or cats; they were thrown into convulsions and spasms. They interrupted public worship by their cries. The case was inquired into and they confessed that they had been bewitched, and finally named three old women as the causes of their afflictions. The accused were at once examined and committed to jail for trial. The children cried out against some others, women of most excellent character. Many other accusations followed. Among those arrested were Burroughs, a minister, English, a well-to-do merchant, Millard, the constable, who had arrested some of the earlier witches, but who was now convinced of his error. These were all lodged in jail with others, making nearly a hundred in number at the arrival of the royal governor.

Phips at once, with no especial authority for so doing, constituted a special commission for the trial of the accused. William Stoughton, a bigoted and narrow man, was made the chief justice. The court at once organized and proceeded to its work. Bridget Bishop was tried, and shortly hanged. A month later five more women were executed. At the next session six were condemned and hanged, among them Burroughs, the minister, and during the next month nine more were executed. All this was done at Salem. The epidemic had not as yet spread farther. But in the autumn many at Andover were accused. The charge of witchcraft ran riot through Essex County. Over four hundred persons had been "cried out" upon. Of these some had saved them-

selves by confession, some were in jail awaiting trial, and many more were under accusation. Twenty had been executed. Nor did the brute creation escape the infection. Two dogs had been found guilty of acting as accomplices in the crime and had paid the extreme penalty. But the end of such absurdities was near. Accusations were made of persons high in position and of known purity of life. Mrs. Hale, the wife of the minister of Beverly, and even Lady Phips were suspected. But at this time the special commission had adjourned for two months. Before it could convene again, the General Court had met and had arranged the regular legal establishment according to the charter. This court proceeded more slowly. Only a few of the presentments were followed up. Only a few of these accused were found guilty, and all the condemned were pardoned. The public mind began to see the delusion it had labored under. It began to be clear to sensible persons that they had been cruelly mistaken, in following as far as they had done the wicked fancies of children and their credulous relations. The witchcraft delusion was over. Many of those prominent in it recognized their error and confessed their failing with true grief of heart. Some were still firm, but the general feeling of the community was as though men had been delivered from a nightmare.

The administration of Sir William Phips was by no means successful. He quarreled with every one, was recalled in 1694 to answer complaints, and died the next year. Stoughton, the lieutenant-governor, was at the head of the administration for some time, and was shortly after succeeded by the Earl of Bellomont, who was in time succeeded by Joseph Dudley, the former president of the country. During his administration and those immediately following almost the only point to be noted by the general reader, is a long-continued quarrel between succeeding governors and assemblies. The governors, in accordance with their instructions, always demanded a fixed salary. The Assembly invariably refused such a concession and forced each governor to content him-

self with yearly grants of such sums as seemed good to them. The governor desired to be independent. The assemblies desired to have some control over him. The point of principle involved was that a fixed grant would be in the nature of a tax imposed by another authority, and to this they were unwilling to submit. The assemblies insisted on their right to tax themselves and grant their own money as they chose. The time was taken up in perpetual broils and bickerings.

Such was, fortunately, not the condition of Connecticut, whose history, however, through this period is not more eventful than that of Massachusetts. On the accession of William and Mary the colony sent a congratulatory address and requested a confirmation of its charter, which had been revoked in a less formal manner than that of Massachusetts. No answer was given to this request, and Connecticut continued to exist very happily under her old charter, by which she had more measure of liberty than was granted in Massachusetts. The colonists enjoyed a government wholly their own, there were no royal nominees to quarrel with the representatives of the people, and the administration of the colony was carried on quietly and successfully. Connecticut was spared the misery of the Indian inroads which desolated the frontier towns to the north-east and north-west. Her inhabitants had but little connection with the Indian wars on this account, and knew nothing of such misfortunes as the failure of the expedition to Quebec. We should not neglect to note the foundation in 1701 of Yale College.

The history of their neighbors in Rhode Island was not so peaceful. The people had not had so much pleasure in the revolution, for the firm and arbitrary rule of Andros had been a not unpleasant change from the constant quarrelings among themselves which had previously gone on. They resumed their charter, which they had given up, and it served them very well for all practical purposes, even down so far as 1840. There were constant quarrels between them and their neighbors. Phips differed with them in regard to their militia, which he pretended to have the right to com-

mand. Connecticut quarreled about the boundary line. Bellomont, who had the extermination of piracy at heart, found much to complain of in Rhode Island, whose deeply indented shore offered most convenient resort for buccaneers. All over the coast of Rhode Island are places where men say that "Kidd buried his treasure." Indeed, the Rhode Islanders at this time had no very good reputation on the high seas. The vessels commissioned as privateers in the late war with France had, it was charged, been nothing better than pirates sailing on their cruises to "Madagascar and the seas of India," as Bellomont remarked, by whose booty the place had "been greatly enriched." The Rhode Islanders were not vigorous in the Indian wars, from which they suffered little, alleging their danger from attack by sea; but when, in 1740, the expedition to Jamaica was set on foot, they were by no means unwilling to furnish men and vessels for what seemed at first to be a congenial occupation.

The most important of the military proceedings of the New England colonies during this period was the capture of Louisburg, the French stronghold in the Island of Cape Breton. In 1744 the French seized the English settlement at Canseau and threatened Annapolis, which had then for a long time been in English hands. They carried their prisoners to Louisburg. On their return on parole the prisoners gave word to Shirley, then governor of Massachusetts, of the weakness of the place. Shirley decided to attempt its capture. The Legislature upheld him, though by a majority of one only. An army was rapidly made up. Connecticut and New Hampshire sent men to join the Massachusetts levies. New York and Pennsylvania sent a small store of provisions and ammunition. The expedition, one hundred vessels and nearly four thousand men, reached Cape Breton about the end of April, 1745, and was there joined by an English squadron, under Commodore Warren, which was of great service throughout the siege in keeping away such reinforcements as were sent from France. A landing was effected near Louisburg on the last day of April.

The town was a fortified place of great strength, though not well garrisoned. The walls were more than twenty feet high and twice as thick at the base, and mounted one hundred and eighty-three pieces of ordnance. Besides these there was an island battery defending the harbor with thirty guns. The garrison consisted of sixteen hundred men, of whom only a third were regular soldiers, the others being country militia. The New Englanders had little or no knowledge of war in general, or of siege operations in particular. Their commander was William Pepperell, a merchant, and their officers were all volunteers chosen from among the soldiers, and having no more knowledge of arms than their men. They had but eighteen cannon and three mortars. But, forcing a landing with great vigor, they established themselves before the town, compelling the French to desert an important outpost of which they at once seized the guns. They undertook no scientific siege works, but erected batteries on the land side of the city, and encamped in the open air, having no tents. With various fortunes the siege continued. It was finally decided to attempt to storm the walls while the fleet kept up a vigorous bombardment. At this moment a French man-of-war sailed into the harbor with military supplies and was at once captured by the English fleet before the eyes of the town. The effect was good for the New Englanders. The place capitulated on the 17th of June, a day or two afterward. On entering the town the victors were amazed at seeing the strength of the place. This was a great and mighty achievement for New England. The French endeavored to recover it, but without success. At Aix-la-Chapelle, however, when peace was made Louisburg was restored, greatly to the disappointment of the vigorous colonists, who had spent such efforts in its capture.

CHAPTER XI.

The Southern Colonies from 1700–1754.

Position of Virginia—Exploring Spirit of Alexander Spotswood—Knighted by George I.—Dinwiddie as Governor—Condition of Maryland and the Carolinas—Religious Difficulties—Resources of the Carolinas—Pirates—English Settlements—Oglethorpe's Plan for a Colony—German Emigrants—The Colonial Laws—War With Spain—Attack on St. Augustine—Oglethorpe Returns to England—Georgia Becomes a Royal Province.

VIRGINIA, as well as Maryland and Pennsylvania, possessed one advantage over her neighbors to the north and south. From the Indian war in Bacon's time until Braddock's defeat near Fort Duquesne she enjoyed uninterrupted peace. The power of the Indians within her borders was utterly broken. There were no French on her frontiers, as with New York and New England; there were no Spaniards, as was the case with the Carolinas and Georgia; nor was the colony of such a character as to invite attack in any one of England's continental wars during these years. Virginia presented no definite point of attack, and no expeditions were made against her. The population had increased, material prosperity had long since begun, the governors were, on the whole, of a worthy character, and the lot of the colony was comparatively happy. The only jars came from the constant and petty quarrels of the burgesses with the governor on matters of small moment. It is probable, however, that the position of the burgesses in this respect had a good effect in training the people to political thoughtfulness.

Alexander Spotswood, who came to Virginia as deputy-governor* in 1710, was of Scotch parentage and trained in

* Lord Orkney was titular governor from 1704–1744, but he remained in England, receiving £1,200 as profit for so doing. The governing was done by others.

the English army. He seems to have been one of the best of the colonial governors, his thoughts given to the welfare of the province, for which he did much in various ways, although the people were by no means always ready to adopt his proposals. His mind, "so long engaged in the immense field of European politics," could not rest within the narrow boundaries set by the Blue Ridge Mountains to the Virginia planters, and he often turned his thoughts to the broad region beyond the Alleghanies, at this time unknown and unexplored by white men. He resolved to do something in the way of exploration, and easily gathered together a party of the choice spirits of the Old Dominion with whom he set forth to cross the mountains and see the country beyond. They crossed the Blue Ridge and, it is said, the Alleghanies beyond, and descended into the fertile country of Kentucky, with which they were delighted. They returned, with glowing accounts of the region, "to recount their discoveries to those who had not in person enjoyed them." Spotswood was knighted by George I. as a reward for this proceeding, and was given as a coat of arms a golden horseshoe with the motto, "Sic jurat transcendere montes." And tradition runs that at Williamsburg was then founded the order known as the "Knights of the Golden Horseshoe," though neither history nor fable has further account of the matter.

In 1723 Spotswood was superseded and retired to his plantations in Spotsylvania. He was followed by Drysdale, and he by Gooch, under whose government the province fared well. In 1752 Robert Dinwiddie was sent out; he acted as deputy-governor for six years. He was an energetic and zealous man, but it does not appear that his abilities were great or that his proceedings were always in the right direction. He was by no means regretted when he retired. As soon as he arrived he got into difficulties with the burgesses, with whom he was, to begin with, unpopular through former proceedings as collector of customs. But the chief matter of note in Dinwiddie's administration is the beginning of active relations with the great western country. Dinwiddie by no

means followed Spotswood in his romantic ride with the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe, but others passed the mountains at first for trade and exploration. The Virginia traders swarmed across the mountains to traffic with the Indians and there met with the French, with results which will be stated in another chapter.

In Maryland the latter part of the seventeenth century was one of decline. The proprietary had been displaced after the Revolution and the colony had been taken by the crown. The result was that the toleration which had so long existed in the colony was for a time at an end. The Anglican Church was established by law, and taxes were laid for its maintenance. In addition to this, although other Protestant sects were tolerated, Roman Catholics and Quakers were severely used. These two elements were strong in the colony, and the effect of the royal policy was not good. In 1715 the then Lord Baltimore became a Protestant, and the proprietary rights were vested, at his death, in his son. For a long time after his, some forty years or so, events in Maryland passed smoothly. As in Virginia, there were no Indian wars nor fear of foreign disturbance, and the only difficulties arose from the disagreements between the governors and the Assembly.

In the history of the Carolinas in the first half of the eighteenth century it is difficult to fix upon any leading principle. The government of the Quaker Archdale, in 1695–6, had been most satisfactory to all concerned, and in the years immediately following the good relations between the colony and its neighbors and its proprietors had not been disturbed. In the opening years of the next century, however, certain tendencies and desires were manifest among the proprietors and their adherents which promised disturbance. The matter of religious toleration seemed as though it might prove a stumbling-block. Immediately after Archdale's departure liberty of conscience had been decreed to all forms of Christians save Romanists. In 1704, by means of political chicanery an act was passed in the Assembly whereby all dissenters from the Church of England were disfranchised,

and political power was reserved to those who would conform to that Church. The proprietors were well pleased to assent to this plan. Not so ready, however, were the colonists themselves; for two thirds of them were non-conformists, and such a majority could by no means see with complacency such an absolute disfranchisement of themselves. They appealed to England, having small success with the proprietaries, and received some redress. The acts were declared void by the crown and were repealed. The result of the proceedings, however, was that the Church of England became and remained the established Church in the province.

Besides the religious troubles there were political disturbances. At one time there were in existence in North Carolina two distinct governments, one claiming power from the people, the other from the proprietaries. Civil war was imminent, and the proprietary governor called for assistance from the royal governor of Virginia. No open outbreak took place, however, but it became evident that the proprietors and the people could not live together peaceably. The continual conflict was not wholly ended when, in 1729, the proprietors sold their rights to the crown.

In spite of these quarrels and factions the two colonies increased largely in prosperity. In South Carolina the successful cultivation of the rice plant brought wealth to the colony, as well as many Negro slaves, whose services were necessary and pleasing to the planters. In North Carolina this staple did not so largely flourish; but here the forests of pine afforded occupation to many of the inhabitants. Masts and timber, tar and turpentine were profitable commodities. The hunters on the frontiers obtained large numbers of valuable furs, for which they found a ready sale. A romantic aspect is cast over the history of the country by the constant appearance of pirates on the shores. They made their headquarters on the coasts of North Carolina, where they not infrequently were in partnership with the authorities. Of these marauders the most famous was the notorious Ned Teach, who was known by the title of Blackbeard. Benjamin

Franklin, in Boston, is the chief means of preserving for posterity the fame of this terrible freebooter. Among his earliest feats was the composition and printing of the *Ballad of Blackbeard*, of which, unfortunately, little is known by antiquarians. The desperate character of the buccaneer is well expressed in the following lines, which are, perhaps, from Franklin's ballad. Teach gives his orders in case of capture by royal ships:

> "And when we no longer can strike a blow,
> Then fire the magazine, boys, and up we go.
> 'Tis better to swim in the sea below
> Than to hang in the air and feed the crow,
> Said jolly Ned Teach, of Bristol."

Teach's real name is said by some to have been John rather than Ned. His character seems to have been vicious and revolting. It is related that his favorite amusement was to personate "a fiend for the entertainment of his crew," and that he "once gave them a scenic display intended to represent the regions of the damned." His ship was engaged by an English man-of-war in 1718, and he himself was killed in the action.

The English settlements at this time extended along the American coast from Nova Scotia to the Savannah River. The English claimed farther—as far as the St. John's.

Just south of this was the Spanish colony of St. Augustine, the oldest on the continent. But about the year 1732 it was resolved to settle the country between the Savannah and the St. John's rivers for reasons of various kinds.

First of all it was thought well to have a species of military colony as a barrier between South Carolina and the Spaniards. This wish fell in well with a scheme formed by James Oglethorpe. This man, an English gentleman of position, holding high rank in the army, and a member of Parliament, was a philanthropist of the noblest nature. He had served on a commission for examining into the jails of England, and had there seen such horrors that all his sympathies had been aroused, and principally for those who were con-

fined for debt. At this time in England, as well as elsewhere, the remedy for debt was imprisonment until payment could be made. The debtors' prisons were crowded with men who had committed no crime save that of being either unfortunate or unfit for the competitions of business. For these Oglethorpe conceived the idea of founding a colony in America. He heard, too, with indignation, of the sufferings of not a few Protestants in the Catholic countries of the continent of Europe, and to these also he offered the shelter of his colony.

A charter was granted in 1732, a board of trustees was appointed guardian, for twenty-one years, of the province, which was to be named Georgia, after George II., and they were to hold it "in trust for the poor." These trustees were given the power to appoint the Legislature and judiciary. The land was to be open to all save Romanists.

In the month of November Oglethorpe set sail with the first band of emigrants for Charleston. Staying there but a short time he proceeded southward to the Savannah River, and here, about ten miles from the sea, he established a town on high ground and gave to it the same name as that of the stream. Affairs were successfully started. The streets were regularly laid out and small houses were built. The Indians appeared on the scene and welcomed Oglethorpe to such land as they did not themselves want. With them Oglethorpe signed a treaty, and he always treated them with great justice in his subsequent dealings with them.

At first the colony seemed to prosper. The second year, 1734, the settlers were reinforced by a colony of German Protestants, who having been driven out of the dominions of the Bishop of Salzburg, had been invited over to Georgia with liberal offers of land, subsistence for a year, and tolerance in matters of religion. They reached Charleston in May and went on to Savannah, where they encamped until they should find a residence; but shortly they settled themselves at a place to which they gave the name Ebenezer. The same year the town of Augusta was settled. 1734

In the summer Oglethorpe sailed for England. In his absence certain discontents arose which had been concealed before, and on his return the colonists presented demands for the abolition of those laws which they thought very prejudicial to the advancement of the colony. In the first place, there was a law that there should be no rum imported, which cut off the trade with the West India Islands, of which rum was one of the chief productions. In the second place, there was a law against Negro slavery, for it was thought best that the settlers should move among a class of good white workmen. But the example of South Carolina was pernicious. In the third place, the land was granted in tail male only; whereby it could not easily be transferred, which caused a good deal of discontent.

Oglethorpe on his return brought with him a good reinforcement of settlers. More Moravians came over to join those who had previously arrived. A settlement of Scotch Highlanders was also made at the southern part of the colony, on the Altamaha River. With Oglethorpe came also John and Charles Wesley. 1735

Oglethorpe in a short time began a journey among the various towns of the province. Passing southward he built at Frederica a fort to protect a small settlement which he planted there. From this place, with certain of the Highlanders from Darien, the settlement just above, he made a journey farther south to mark out the English claims for a frontier. He planted two forts—one, Fort St. Andrews, on Cumberland Island, in the Altamaha; the other, Fort St. George, on Amelia Island, in the St. John's. But this last had to be abandoned. Returning home he made alliance with the Chickasaws, whereby the southern frontier was much strengthened.

A year or two after war broke out between England and Spain. Georgia was the only one of the American colonies which was near enough the Spanish power to feel any effects from it. The Spaniards in Florida had already threatened Oglethorpe and his colony, though he had managed to avert any serious danger. But in 1739 war was declared. Rather

than wait for an attack Oglethorpe resolved to take the offensive himself. He had, on his last return from England, brought with him a regiment of six hundred men, recruited especially for colonial service, and now, with additions from the Carolina militia and with various Indian allies, he started an expedition against St. Augustine. But the place was too strong and too well garrisoned for him to do any thing, and he was compelled to withdraw into Georgia, whither, a year or two after, the Spaniards followed him. In July, 1742, a fleet of thirty-six vessels, containing forces from Cuba, entered the St. Mary's to capture Frederica. The English had no great force and were compelled to abandon their camp and gather into the town. For three weeks there was fighting in which the Spaniards had decidedly the disadvantage. Toward the end of the month they withdrew.

The next year Oglethorpe returned to England, where he remained, never coming back to Georgia. Affairs did not go so well after he had gone, and in his absence the laws on which he had laid especial stress were suffered to fall into disuse. Slaves were imported, and rum also, and the male entail was gradually dropped. The government after his departure went on for eight years under a president and four assistants appointed by the trustees. But affairs did not run very smoothly, and in 1752 the trustees gave up their charter to the government and Georgia became a royal province.

CHAPTER XII.

The French and Indian War.

The Four Divisions—Expeditions Against the French—Affairs in the West—George Washington—Border Fighting—Braddock's Defeat—William Johnson—Defeat of the French at Champlain—An Expedition Planned Against Fort Niagara—The Succession of English Commanders—Capture of Oswego—Siege and Surrender of Fort William Henry—William Pitt—Admiral Boscowen Arrives with Re-enforcements—Capture of Louisburg—Fort Frontenac and Fort Duquesne—Death of Lord Howe—Repulse of the English at Ticonderoga—English Plans—The Fall of Quebec—Surrender of Montreal End of the War.

THE "Seven Years' War" is, as has been said, generally called the "French and Indian War" by the early American writers. In tracing its history it is well to remember the four lines on which attack and defense were made. The French and English in America were separated by a wild barrier of forests and mountains. It was only where this natural barrier was penetrated by some natural highway that attack could be readily made by either party. Accordingly we find the scenes of the warfare to be distributed in four divisions. In the first place, at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, was Fort Duquesne, the key to the valley of the Ohio. The headwaters and tributaries of the Potomac and the Susquehanna afforded to the English a means of passage across the Alleghany Mountains, and thus Fort Duquesne was an object of importance. Again, another natural roadway through the mountains was afforded by the Hudson River, dividing at Albany into two distinct paths; the one along the Mohawk River, pointing west toward Oswego and Niagara, the other by the waters of Lake Champlain, extending north to the heart of Canada, guarded only by the

Forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point. And, once more, Canada was approachable by sea, and the River St. Lawrence afforded access to the citadel of Quebec. On these four lines, then, was the battle to be fought. Twice were expeditions sent by the English against Fort Duquesne. Forts Niagara and Frontenac were always objects of attack. Lake George was the scene of constant struggle, and Louisburg and Quebec eventually succumbed to expeditions sent by sea. Generally the English took the offensive. For this part they had some advantages. They occupied the inside frontiers with ready inter-communication by sea. The distance between Boston and Yorktown was nothing compared with the distance between Quebec and Fort Duquesne. But the French position, though the outside, was very strong. When the English reached Fort Duquesne or Fort Frontenac they found nothing but a fort to take; but from these points the French had been able to strike easily the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania and New York. An expedition through the woods of northern New England against Quebec and Montreal would have been nonsensical; yet from Quebec and Montreal, time and again, war parties would start to ravage the frontier towns of Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

It was in the West that the settlers first came into conflict. The valley of the Ohio had proved good trading ground, and by 1754 the English had become well accustomed to the road thither. Pickanillany, an Indian village on the Miami under the rule of the chief Old Britain (or as the French called him, La Demoiselle), was wholly under their influence. But France had accustomed herself to look on the broad region between Quebec and New Orleans, west of the mountains, as her own property. True, she did nothing with it save erect here and there a fort, and affix here and there the arms of Louis XV., but the English encroachments on it were none the less to be withstood. So it was at this point that the first fighting took place. There was no declaration of war, but each side was in earnest. The English built a fort where Pittsburg now stands. The French captured it, de-

molished it, and built a new one which they named after their governor, the Marquis Duquesne. This was as much as a declaration of war. At Wills Creek at this time were certain Virginia troops under one George Washington. Washington crossed the mountains, hoping to be able to collect enough settlers and Indians to attack the fort. At some little distance from Fort Duquesne the party fell in with a detachment of French under Coulon de Jumonville. A skirmish took place in which Jumonville was killed and both parties retired. Expecting to be attacked, Washington intrenched himself at "Fort Necessity." And here the French came against him with greatly superior force. After some sharp fighting Washington was obliged to capitulate, and with his Virginians was allowed to march out with the honors of war and retired east of the Alleghanies. The first point had been gained by the French. English influence west of the Alleghanies was overthrown.

The English were roused to action. (In the winter of 1754-55 a fierce border war raged along the western settlements of Pennsylvania and Virginia. In the spring new preparations were made for the capture of Fort Duquesne. Forces had been sent out from England, and with them a general. Edward Braddock was a brave officer of some experience in war, but knowing little of the manner to be pursued in border fighting. The unhappy result of the expedition which he commanded is well known. Gathering at Wills Creek a considerable force of English regulars, Virginia troops, with a quantity of horses and wagons, Braddock began his advance with difficulty through the forest. There were continual delays and difficulties. Finally Braddock left his *impedimenta* in the rear and pressed on with a light column.

The expedition was sufficient in number to overawe the French. In the fort the ruling opinion was that it would be necessary to retire. But finally Contrecœur, the commander, at the instance of Captain Beaujeu, resolved to lay an ambuscade for the English as they forded the Monongahela.

Beaujeu was in command. Although the English had reached the ford before the French the ambuscade was still made. The success was complete. The English regulars, marching in ranks as if on parade, presented a fair mark for the bullets of the French and Indians who lay concealed behind the trees in front and on each side of them. The advance guard was almost destroyed, and when the main body came up nothing could be done to save the day. The regulars could not fight as the occasion demanded. Some little fighting was done by the provincials in border fashion, but finally the British turned and fled. Braddock was severely wounded, as were most of his officers. On meeting General Dunbar, who had been left behind with the baggage, no stop was made, but the retreat continued. Braddock himself died on the way and was buried in the woods, while the army marched over his grave, that it might not be found by the savages. The expedition was a total and miserable failure. The French still held the West, and with their savage allies they still made barbarous inroads on the border settlements.

The same year another expedition was planned. Lake George (called by the French Lake St. Sacrament), and Lake Champlain, with the River Richelieu, made a tempting pathway to Quebec. The French, however, commanded it. For some years Crown Point (as the English called Fort Frederick) had been a standing menace to the northern colonies. An expedition was planned by the energetic Shirley. A force of three thousand provincial troops was raised and the command given to William Johnson, afterward knighted for his services. This man was chosen chiefly for his influence over the Indians, which was great. He lived in a fortified house in the Mohawk country with a Dutch wife, and was known as an English chief throughout the Five Nations. But he was nothing of a soldier. The provincial force gathered at Albany and prepared to march northward.

The French, on their side, had no notion of waiting to be attacked. Baron Dieskau, a German officer of repute, had

command of the forces at Crown Point—some thirty-five hundred all told; French, Canadians, and Indians. These last gave him some trouble. He led out his forces, however, and marched down the eastern side of the lake to surprise the English, who were marching slowly northward from Albany. Both sides sent out scouting parties, who were constantly skirmishing. Finally, on reaching the southern end of the lake, the French obtained information of their whereabouts and prepared an ambush. Johnson had with him at this time about twenty-five hundred, of whom three hundred were Mohawk Indians, who did but little fighting. The English advance party of about a thousand men fell into the ambush, and for a moment it seemed as though they must be utterly routed. But they recovered and fell back in fair order on the camp where the rest of the English lay intrenched behind a rough fortification of logs. The French followed closely and the battle became general. The English received their first assault behind their intrenchments. Then a charge was ordered and the French and Indians broke and fled. Dieskau was wounded and captured.

This was a success as far as it went, but Johnson did not follow up his advantage. He encamped at the battlefield, where he occupied himself in strengthening the fort which he named William Henry. Here he stayed until November 27, when the greater part of his army dispersed to their homes. Little was gained except whatever prestige came from a barren victory.

This same summer an expedition was planned against Fort Niagara. Shirley, with a considerable force, reached the English fort at Oswego, on Lake Ontario, which was to serve as base of operations. But Fort Frontenac, on the other side of the lake, was a formidable post to leave in the rear, and though Shirley had some thoughts of attempting its capture nothing was done. He returned to Albany in the fall, leaving seven hundred men at Oswego. The first year of the war had not resulted very successfully for the English.

The next year war was formally declared, and the Marquis

de Montcalm was sent out to command the French. He inspired confidence in the whole colony. Under his direction the unfinished fort at Ticonderoga was completed, and for some time stood as the French outpost on this line of attack. Generals were also sent from England. Shirley, who was hard at work planning an expedition against Frontenac and Niagara, was ordered to resign his command to Colonel Webb, who was to come from England. Webb in turn was to turn the command over to General Abercrombie, who was to follow him. Abercrombie was to give up the command to the Earl of Loudon, the real commander-in-chief. The reasons for this singular arrangement do not at present appear. Meanwhile, none of his successors having appeared, Shirley carried on the preparations for the campaign in accordance with his own ideas. He busied himself principally in looking after Oswego, the proposed base for operations on Lake Ontario. In the meanwhile an expedition under the command of John Winslow was set on foot for the attack of Crown Point, and an army of five thousand New England soldiers collected at Albany for that purpose.

There was much done early in the season with a view toward strengthening the post at Oswego, and a considerable skirmish took place in May, in which the English got something the better. Loudon, however, on his arrival, determined to give up that part of the plan and to confine his operations to the attack on Crown Point. He proposed, however, to send re-enforcements to Oswego. But Montcalm was beforehand with him. Sailing from Fort Frontenac in August with three thousand men and several cannons he appeared before Oswego, which proved to be utterly incapable of defense, and surrendered in two or three days' time. The blow to the English was severe. It injured their prestige with the Indians, it secured the French communications with Niagara, Detroit and Fort Duquesne, and it left Montcalm free to concentrate his forces at Ticonderoga.

In this direction the English, although great preparations had been made, did nothing. A vigorous war of skirmishes

was carried on by Indians and rangers on either side of Lake George, but no effective blow was struck. The next year, however, the crushing blow came. Loudon planned an attack on Louisburg which, owing to stormy weather as well as other things, came to nothing. Montcalm turned his whole attention toward Lake Champlain. Fort William Henry was garrisoned by a comparatively small force. Webb lay at Fort Edward with such troops as had been left by Loudon. In July he collected all the force that was available at Ticonderoga for a descent on Fort William Henry. A large number of Indians were present, as well Christian Indians from the missions as tribes from the far West. There were also Canadians, colonial regulars, and French troops. The expedition left Ticonderoga in August and shortly appeared before Fort William Henry, where Munro was in command with two thousand men. The French numbered seventy-five hundred. Not far distant, at Fort Edward, General Webb had a small force, but he did not think it best to weaken his army by re-enforcing Munro, for their combined forces could not have equaled the French.

The French proceeded to open trenches for a formal siege. They had with them cannon and mortars which soon made a breach in the fort. Munro replied gallantly with his cannon, but learning from Webb that he could expect no re-enforcement from him he finally decided to accept Montcalm's offers for a capitulation. The garrison were to be allowed to march out to Fort Edward on promise not to subsequently serve against the French. On the way, however, the savage allies of Montcalm broke all bounds and precipitated themselves on the English, massacring a large number. The survivors finally reached Webb at Fort Edward. Fort William Henry was dismantled and burned, and the French and Indians retired to Canada.

So far the tide of the war had been decidedly in favor of the French. The English attempts on Forts Duquesne and Niagara had been failures. They had accomplished literally nothing. True, the French had been defeated in the first year

of the war at Fort William Henry, but their subsequent expeditions had been more successful and the demolition of Oswego and Fort William Henry had been two severe blows.

The next year, 1758, the tide changed a little. In England William Pitt had been called to the direction of the war, and under his energetic combinations the campaign was planned with great zeal. Canada was to be attacked by all approaches, an English army and fleet were to besiege the citadel of Louisburg, a joint expedition was to attack Ticonderoga, and a third army was to strive to avenge the defeat of Braddock at Fort Duquesne. Some measure of success remained to the English at the end of the campaign.

On the 2d of June, Admiral Boscawen, with an English fleet, appeared off the coast of Cape Breton. He was in command of twenty-three ships-of-the-line, eighteen frigates, and five other ships. Under his convoy was a fleet of transports, which carried General Amherst and his army of eleven thousand English regulars, with five hundred provincials. It was an overpowering force. Drucour, the French commander, had with him in the town but five thousand French and Canadian regulars, with such assistance as he could get from the inhabitants and from a number of Indians—a branch of the French army never famous for siege operations.

The siege was bitterly contested and lasted longer than might have been expected. The English forced a landing at the west of the town, although the weather was so rough that it took several days for them to get all their heavy guns ashore. The town was then invested in regular form. The heavy siege guns soon rendered the fortress indefensible, and on the 26th of July the town surrendered. It was the first great English success of the war, and all England and all the English colonies rejoiced. Yet the expedition had not wholly succeeded. The brave resistance of the French had delayed the surrender so that there was no time for Boscawen and Amherst to move on Quebec, toward which James Wolfe, the brigadier-general under Amherst, cast longing eyes.

This success on the right was balanced later in the season

by others almost as important on the left. Later in the season, in the middle of August, Bradstreet, with a force of provincials, made his way to the deserted post of Oswego. Here his men, joined by a few Indians, embarked in boats which they had brought with them, and started across the lake for Fort Frontenac. The French were not expecting an attack, and there were hardly two hundred men in the fort. Bradstreet had with him more than ten times the number. He effected a landing and the French surrendered. The fort was dismantled, and the expedition returned to Albany. Later in the season Fort Duquesne succumbed. General Forbes had been sent against it with a force composed of provincials from the southern colonies, some regulars, among them some Scotch Highlanders, and a regiment of Royal Americans, so called—king's troops recruited in the colonies. Forbes, warned by the example of Braddock, made his way slowly and with great caution through the forests of western Pennsylvania. It was not till the end of November that he reached the fort, and then the French had gone. Too few to resist successfully, and compelled by lack of provisions, they had been forced to retire after having burned and blown up the works. A temporary defense was built and garrisoned by the English, the name was changed to Pittsburg, and the English retired.

By these successes the English had made material advance. The French, left and right, had been driven in. But the blow aimed at the center had failed. Montcalm still held Ticonderoga. The plans made by Pitt for the campaign had for their chief part an expedition against Canada on this line. It should have been successful. The forces gathered at Fort William Henry were very large. There were six thousand regulars. Pitt had this year called on the colonies for twenty thousand men. Of these nearly ten thousand were to be employed on the expedition against Ticonderoga. A large number of boats had been prepared to carry them up Lake George. On the 5th of July the army embarked, and the great flotilla of over a thousand boats began its journey down the lake. The expedition was well provided with artillery,

and every thing seemed to augur well for the reduction of the French stronghold. Abercrombie was in command, but the life of the army was General Lord Howe. They landed at the northern end of the lake on the 6th and took up their march across country toward the southern end of Lake Champlain. Here a crushing disaster befell them. Lord Howe, marching with Major Israel Putnam at the head of the army, was shot and killed in a skirmish with an outlying party of the French. The whole army felt the blow.

Abercrombie pressed his men on, intent on forcing the French position by storm. It seems to have been the one way in which success was doubtful. Montcalm had intrenched himself strongly just outside of the fort and withstood the English attack for seven hours. The battle was desperate and bloody. At the end the English, having made nothing and having lost one fourth of their number, were ordered to retire, though still strong enough to have captured the fort by siege. The expedition returned to Fort William Henry and the campaign was given up as a failure.

But this was the last French success in the war. Their efforts seemed to grow more feeble as the English increased in vigor. Provisions and men were scarce. Jealousy and intrigue disordered their counsels. They were not supported from home. One more campaign finished the war.

The English took the offensive on every point. A large army and fleet were sent against Quebec, rendered more easy of access by the fall of Louisburg. Amherst was to attack Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Oswego was to be rebuilt and Fort Niagara was to be reduced. And Fort Duquesne, or Pittsburg, was to be strengthened and garrisoned. All these plans were carried out with great vigor.

The upper town of Quebec is a place of great natural strength. It stands high above the river, on a steep cliff, easily made inaccessible, protected on the south, east and north by the St. Lawrence and the St. Charles rivers. To the west of the city is the plateau on which are the Plains of Abraham. To the north is the river St. Charles, beyond

which was the entrenched camp of the French army under Montcalm, stretching down the river for two miles, as far as the Falls of Montmorenci. In the river opposite the French camp is the Island of Orleans. Here the English landed on the 26th of June an army of some nine thousand men, under command of Wolfe—who was to become famous here—assisted by a large fleet.

The undertaking was difficult, and the summer wore away while the British lay on the Island of Orleans, no further advanced than the day they landed. A vigorous attack made on the French camp near the Falls of Montmorenci was a failure. The lower town was reduced to ruins by the English guns, but no impression was made on the citadel. In September Wolfe resolved that a great risk must be run, and determined to attack the town from the west. About five thousand of his troops were secretly conveyed above the city. Then, early in the morning of the 13th, the expedition floated down the river in boats, till they reached the point agreed upon, above the city. Twenty-four volunteers scaled the cliffs by a steep and narrow path, and the rest of the army followed. By daylight the English, thirty-five hundred strong, stood on the Plains of Abraham—a mile distant from Quebec. Montcalm had been taken by surprise. He mustered his forces as soon as possible and appeared before the city to give battle. The fortune of war was with the English. The French were broken and fled. The two leaders, Wolfe and Montcalm, were both killed in the battle. But the English remained masters of the field. They entrenched themselves, and the city surrendered the next day.

The fall of Quebec was the fall of Canada. The other expeditions set on foot had succeeded. General Prideaux had reached Oswego, and, leaving half his force to hold that place, had proceeded and laid siege to Niagara with the rest. The French were defeated in sundry skirmishes and the place fell. Meanwhile Amherst had gathered his forces at Fort William Henry and sailed down Lake George to Ticonderoga, which was abandoned by the French at his approach.

Crown Point was also evacuated, and the English were masters of this road to Canada. It had been Amherst's intention to advance on Montreal and Quebec, but the season was too far advanced for him to do so. The campaign closed with Canada virtually in the hands of the English. The next year the French attempted to recapture Quebec, but the place was successfully held against them. That same year three simultaneous attacks were directed against Montreal: Murray was to advance from Quebec and Haviland by way of Lake Champlain, while Amherst sailed down the St. Lawrence from Lake Ontario. A junction was effected; Montreal was invested by seventeen thousand men, and the town capitulated. By the terms of the surrender all Canada passed over to the English. All French troops were to be sent to France, with any others who might desire to go with them.

Thus was the war in America ended. The Peace of Paris, signed three years later, confirmed the conditions, and the English colonies were at last rid of their dangerous rivals on the north and west. Not a few keen-sighted men, in different parts of the world, saw in this freedom from alarm and menace, in this possibility of endless increase, the sure signs of American independence.

CHAPTER XIII.

Colonial Irritation.

The Prospect of Peace—George III.—System for Taxing America—The Stamp Act—The Navigation Act—Protest Against the Act—Passage of the Stamp Act—Continental Congress—Attack on the House of Governor Hutchinson—Sons of Liberty—Rockingham Ministry in Power—Speech of William Pitt—Repeal of the Stamp Act—Statues of Pitt and George III.—The Mutiny Act—The Tea Act—Irritation of the Colonists—A Garrison in Boston.

WAR was over, and it seemed as if danger from foreign enemies was over. Especially in the northern and middle colonies was the danger of incursions from the savages on their northern and western frontiers at an end.

For more than a generation the English colonists had been more than a match for any force which the Indians could bring against them without the help of white men, but while there were magazines of French arms and ammunition to rely upon the frontiers were never safe. Political jealousy and priestly bigotry were enough to excite the Indians who lived between the French and the English, and the familiar phrase which has come into that history, which speaks of the incursions or conflicts as belonging "to French-and-Indian-wars," shows how natural and complete was the alliance between the two. This alliance was now dissolved, and apparently dissolved forever. The colonists were to deal with the Indians alone, and they knew that, so dealing, they were quite sure of peace. There is a curious letter from Washington, written to an English correspondent in 1763, in which he says that the quiet of all life in the colonies is such that he really has nothing to say which will interest a friend on the other side of the water.

The folly of George III., a young prince who had come to the throne but a few years before, broke up all this seeming tranquillity. His grandfather, George II., was a soldier. He was not much more than a soldier, but he was a man who did dare to go into battle and who understood more or less of the strategy which belonged to the military art of his time. George III.'s father had died while George II. lived. When, in 1760, the grandson inherited the throne of England, it was with a young man's enthusiasm, hopes and ambitions.

Benjamin West, who spent the greater part of his life in London, is the authority for an anecdote which is probably true. He says that the young king was anxious to rival in London the visible grandeurs of the Court of France. He had formed the idea that he should like to build a palace which might bear some comparison with the glories of Versailles. To do this, as he and his favorites knew, required a larger revenue than English parliaments were used to vote to English sovereigns. New revenue must be sought for somewhere. With the audacity of youth and inexperience they conceived the idea of drawing revenue from these colonies which extended so largely upon the map, and for whom an army directed by Chatham had done such great things. Here was, according to Mr. West, the origin of the system for taxing America.

In the ministry of Grenville and North, in 1763, a bill was introduced in Parliament which would test the whole question of a possible revenue to be derived from the English colonies. It required that for all commercial transactions and all instruments of record stamps must be used as they were used in England. The earliest reference, in the English archives, to this project, is at the date of July 5, 1763. The next spring, on the 10th of March, Grenville was prime minister. As an amendment to the Sugar Act he introduced a resolution in these fatal words: "It may be proper to charge stamp duties on the colonies and plantations." This resolution challenged little attention in Parliament. But it was

now a general custom for each colonial assembly to maintain an agent in London who should attend to its affairs. Franklin was such an agent for Pennsylvania. These agents, of course, notified their principals of the proposition, and then waited on Grenville promptly, to tell him that any scheme for internal taxation would be intolerable to America. Grenville answered that he had given the colonies, by his resolution, a year to indicate any other mode of contributing to this charge which might be agreeable to them.

The Sugar Act, to which this resolution regarding stamps was added, was a renewal of an act which had been passed thirty years before. The general theory of English commerce was the old fatal and absurd theory, that all commerce must be conducted for the benefit of the mother country. What is known as the "Navigation Act" was the basis of English legislation. On the theory of the Navigation Act, if Massachusetts wished to send fish to the West India islands the fish must be shipped to London, and from England re-shipped to the islands. But from the very beginning the colonies had disregarded the act. Cromwell had assented to its violation, and subsequent statutes had confirmed the exception thus made. Under the act of 1734, which expired in 1764, a duty was imposed on foreign molasses. Under the new act which Grenville now introduced, this duty was reduced from six pence a gallon to three pence, and new duties were imposed on coffee, pimento, East India goods and wines, when admitted into the colonies. While the colonies had never dissented from the imposition of duties on navigation which were intended to protect the English islands, by the disadvantageous pressure upon the products of the Spanish islands, they saw at once that the new duty was proposed for the raising of revenue. The resolution with regard to stamps, which was added to an act in itself so unpopular, showed that this was the purpose of the government.

While these two details were considered in England as absolutely unimportant they set the whole of America in a blaze. "If our trade may be taxed, why not our lands?" said

Sam. Adams. "Why not the produce of our lands? and, in short, every thing we possess or make use of?" The reader will remember that it was only a hundred and twenty years since John Hampden had gone to battle and to death to maintain the principle that the subject could not be taxed by the king unless he had an opportunity to vote on the law which taxed him. Precisely the same question was now brought before the colonies.

It was by no means a new question in the colonies; and with a curious jealousy the legislative assemblies had always refused the slightest proposal of their governors to raise a revenue which they themselves had not voted. In 1762 the House of Representatives in Massachusetts had said: "It would be of little consequence to the people whether they were subject to George or to Louis, the king of Great Britain or the French king, if both were as arbitrary as both would be if both could levy taxes without Parliament." Every colony which had an opportunity protested against the act and its principle. The agents were instructed to ask for a hearing before the House of Commons, and in one or another form the different assemblies sent their protests to London.

Grenville was, therefore, fairly warned. He had given his year's notice to the colonies, and this was the result. But he introduced the Stamp Act, and it was passed by a full house on March 22, 1765. The cheapest stamp was to be one shilling. For more important documents the prices ranged upward. This act was to be enforced after the first Tuesday in October.

The summer of 1765 was, therefore, a summer of tremendous excitement through all the colonies. At the suggestion of Massachusetts, nine assemblies appointed their delegates to meet in a Continental Congress at New York, to consider the exigency. Meanwhile the piles of stamped paper which were to produce this new revenue arrived in the different seaports. Mobs of people in those towns waited on the collectors who were appointed to sell the stamps and compelled

them to decline. The Congress met in the old City Hall in Wall Street, in New York. It consisted of twenty-eight delegates. They agreed together on thirteen resolutions, expressing, in strong language, the conviction "that no taxes ever have been or can be constitutionally imposed on the people of these colonies but by their respective legislatures." And, again, that "all supplies to the crown being free gifts of the people, it is unreasonable and inconsistent with the spirit of the British Constitution for the people of Great Britain to grant to his majesty the property of the colonists." These resolutions were forwarded to England. Similar resolutions were passed in many of the colonial assemblies.

It proved, at once, that it would be impossible to enforce the use of stamped paper. In most of the towns where it was to be sold the agents were compelled to resign. In Boston the mob entered the house of Oliver, the agent, and broke his windows. This outrage was not checked. The mob gathered courage and attacked the house of his brother-in-law, Governor Hutchinson, entered it, and threw every thing into the street. In this wild riot some important documents bearing on American history were lost. Hutchinson was singularly hated by the people, because he was of New England blood and they thought they had a right to command his sympathy. It would be fair to say that unless men held office under the crown they were unanimous in their opposition to the statute. In New York an association called the "Sons of Liberty" was formed, which led the opposition. Similar associations were formed in other provinces. When a vessel arrived with stamps for use in Connecticut she was boarded, the stamps were seized and were set on fire. In Philadelphia the stamp distributor resigned so soon as he found that the Sons of Liberty proposed to visit him. In Maryland, Hood, who was to distribute them, was burned in effigy, and fled to New York. The Sons of Liberty waited on him and compelled him to resign his office and swear that he would not resume it. In short, in every province the use of stamps proved impossible, and it seems to be sure that no

stamp was ever used upon any instrument in America. The parcels were, in many instances, shipped back to England, and it is within the memory of this generation that in some clearing of the house in one of the English departments these packages were found and the stamps given away as curiosities to persons interested in history.

Meanwhile in England a change had been made in the cabinet. What was known as the Rockingham ministry came into power—a cabinet which was independent of the Earl of Bute, a Scotch lord, who had been supposed to have an undue influence over the young king. When Parliament came together in December the Rockingham ministry did not know its own mind as to the American disturbances. On this occasion William Pitt appeared for the first time in a year. He made a speech in the formal debate on the address to the crown. "In my opinion," he said, "this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies. The Americans are the sons, not the bastards of England." In this speech he made a prophecy which became celebrated, that the rotten part of the constitution, by which he meant the system of rotten boroughs, would not last for a century. In fact, it was destroyed by the "Reform Bill" in 1831. At the end of such an attack there was silence. General Conway, who had voted against the Stamp Act and now led the ministry, then rose. He said that he agreed with almost every word that Pitt had said. Grenville defended the stamp system. He said that the American hatred to it was to be found in the factions of the House. Pitt replied. In his reply he used words which school-boys still repeat at school exhibitions: "I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people, so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest."

The House went into what was called a careful inquiry on the subject. Franklin was examined at its bar. It was agreed on all hands that the Stamp Act should be repealed. It was supposed that this would satisfy the Americans. The repeal

was passed by the strong vote of 275 to 167. And, indeed, the news of the repeal was received with enthusiasm through the colonies. It was thought that a new change had come in. The town of Boston ordered full-length portraits of Conway and of Barré to be hung up in Faneuil Hall, which was its place of meeting. The Assembly of Virginia voted a statue of George III., and Maryland proposed one of Pitt. The State of New York ordered statues to both Pitt and the king, and these statues were set up in August, 1770.

But all this enthusiasm was really misplaced; for by the side of the repeal of the Stamp Act a declaratory act was passed, declaring that Parliament had power over the colonies in all cases whatsoever. The Sugar Act had not been modified, with its provision creating a revenue and for revenue purposes. The Mutiny Act directed that the colonial assemblies should provide quarters, with "fire, candles, vinegar, salt, bedding, utensils for cooking, beer or cider, and rum," for the troops who might be sent to America. Meanwhile the Rockingham ministry had dissolved. In the changes made, which cannot be called partisan so much as personal, the opponents to the colonies gained new force. Charles Townshend came into power, and he had a theory of colonial taxation which he supposed he could carry through. He died in the year 1767, but he lived long enough to introduce the celebrated Tea Act, on which, as it happened, the discussions of after years turned.

In the limited space of this history it is impossible to go into the details of the irritation which was kept up now, for a series of years, after the suspicion had once gained ground that Parliament meant to make money out of the colonies. It was now a question under the Mutiny Act, now a quarrel about the quartering of soldiers, now an obnoxious message from a home secretary to a governor, which continued the exasperation. The men who controlled England had no knowledge of the colonies. On the other hand, the people of New England, for a century, had hardly known what a soldier was in time of peace. They were themselves accustomed to serve in their own train bands. They were disciplined to arms,

that they might serve as a militia. They had volunteered freely, even for distant enterprises, as the reader knows; but when war ended, or when the days of "annual training" were over, the soldier was a soldier no longer. No one wore a uniform; no one presumed on any rights which were not shared by all men. To a New Englander, then, to see a body of men arrive from another country, dressed in unifrom and carrying weapons when all was at peace, was a sight as absurd as if they had been clad in the armor of the Middle Ages and were riding up and down like Amadis in quest of adventures. To quarter a body of soldiers in a New England town, even though those soldiers were paid from a distant treasury, was a constant reminder of the force on which their distant king relied. It was a reminder which they did not like, and the mere presence of such a force was a constant exasperation.

Such is one instance of the offense which the government in London was constantly giving to the colonists in America. To send a regiment into garrison in a provincial town in England was a favor to that town, and the regiment was received with a certain interest and enthusiasm. But to send a regiment as a garrison into the town of Boston was an insult which excited and exasperated every person in Boston every day that such occupation continued.

CHAPTER XIV.

Boston Massacre.

Boston Massacre—Selectmen Wait on the Governor—A Demand that the Troops Be Withdrawn—Consent of Governor Hutchinson—Sam. Adams's Regiment—Trial of Preston—Protest of the Colonies Against Taxation—Lord North Prime Minister.

IN Boston this irritation came to its height, after endless altercations between the people and the royal troops and seamen, on the 3d of March, 1770. A party of soldiers and a party of rope-makers of the town agreed to meet in a sort of duel, and fought with clubs near midnight. Several men on each side were badly wounded. The next night an attempt was made to renew this fight, which was suppressed with some difficulty. The next night, the 5th of March, a day which became historical, two young men tried to pass a sentinel at the foot of Cornhill, near where the statue of Samuel Adams stands to-day. The sentinel tried to stop them and a struggle ensued. The encounter was itself trifling, but it called out the neighbors, and a file of troops in defense of the sentry. The English officers succeeded in drawing their men back into the barracks, but there was no one to withdraw the mob of people. They observed another sentinel, who was stationed in front of the Custom House. This building was in what is now called State Street, then King Street, on the northern side. A boy pointed at this sentry as being a man who had knocked him down lately, and the mob began to pelt him with snow-balls and other missiles. The soldier tried to enter the building for protection, but the door was locked; and he was obliged to call for the main guard, whose station was within hearing. The officer in command sent six men to his relief. He also sent for Captain Preston, the offi-

cer of the day. Meanwhile rumors of a fight called together an immense crowd. The bells were ringing as if for fire. Preston joined the file of six men with six other men. They fell back in a curved line in front of the Custom House. Preston knew and the mob knew that by the law of England his men must not fire without the order of a civil magistrate. He behaved with moderation and judgment all through. The mob dared the soldiers to fire. "Come on, lobster-backs." "Come on, bloody-backs." These were allusions to the hated red coat. "Fire if you dare." "Damn you, why don't you fire?" At last a soldier received a severe blow from a club. He leveled his piece and fired. Immediately after, seven or eight more of the soldiers fired. Three of the people were killed, two others were mortally wounded, and six slightly wounded. The rest of the mob fled and Preston was able to withdraw his men without injury. The incident seemed to be over, but in reality the Revolutionary War had begun.

The drums beat to arms, and the Twenty-ninth regiment formed in King Street. On the other hand, Hutchinson addressed the people from the balcony of the State House. He promised a full investigation in the morning. A citizens' guard of a hundred men took charge of the streets, and peace was restored. Early in the morning Preston gave himself up for trial.

The Selectmen of Boston at once waited on the governor and council. They said that such a fight was the consequence which they had always anticipated from the presence of a body of soldiers in a peaceful town. They said that the troops must be withdrawn from Boston, or they would not be responsible for the consequences. Hutchinson said that the troops were under military orders, and that he could not remove them; that they were under the command of General Gage, at New York. But, with the fatal facility of a weak man, he said that Colonel Dalrymple would withdraw to the castle the Twenty-ninth regiment, which had had the fights with the people. The town meeting in Faneuil Hall pronounced this answer unsatisfactory. Sam. Adams, at the head of a committee of citizens,

waited upon Hutchinson again. Hutchinson renewed the proposal that one regiment should be sent away. Adams answered at once that if there was power to remove one regiment there was power to remove two, and that nothing less would satisfy the people. Hutchinson gave way, and the regiments were removed to Castle William, in the harbor. By this act the outbreak of the Revolution was postponed for five years.

The young king, George III., who was trying these little experiments at absolute government, heard with disgust of the failure of this effort to quarter soldiers in a free town. He always called these two regiments "Sam. Adams's regiments" afterward. It was perhaps at this moment that he first heard Adams's name, and it is probably from this moment that Samuel Adams, who is, in fact, the father of American independence, was always regarded with particular dislike by George III., who should be remembered as the author of the American Revolution. By this is meant that, had it not been for the preposterous wish of George III. to intermeddle with the constitutional order of things which he found, the separation of America from England, in itself unavoidable, would have happened at a different time and under very different conditions.

Preston was tried for murder. He was defended by Quincy and Adams, two patriot lawyers, and was acquitted. Two of the soldiers were found guilty of manslaughter, the rest were acquitted. Under the inhuman law of that time these two poor fellows were branded in the hand. Hutchinson, the weak governor, who could have pardoned them, said this was of little consequence to the prisoners, and he thought it most advisable not to interfere.

The act drawn by Townshend's direction for the taxation of the colonies proposed importation duties on tea, glass, paper and colors. Against these the colonies had protested in every way. They had materially checked the trade with England by combinations of the patriots who refused to receive foreign goods. From the severity of these combinations they gave way gradually, so that they would receive such other

manufactures of England as they needed, but would not receive the articles on which the taxes were to be paid. In 1769 the Duke of Grafton urged in the cabinet a remission of all these duties. His colleagues, however, insisted on maintaining the duty on tea "for the sake of the principle," as was said. But the cabinet agreed that the circular on the subject should contain as encouraging expressions as were possible. The Duke of Grafton afterward complained that these encouraging expressions were never sent to the colonies; that the circular letter which was sent was calculated to do all the mischief possible. And he charges that these changes were made at the direct instance of the king. This is probably true. In all the history of that time matters were complicated by the existence of a set of men who were called "the king's friends," who surrounded the person of George III., and who took care that not even the cabinet, which was theoretically responsible, should have its own way fully, if that way crossed the royal will. Meanwhile, George III. had shown the first symptoms of the insanity under which he afterward broke down.

With the spring of 1770 the Grafton ministry broke up and Lord North became prime minister. This was on the 27th of January. The "king's friends" were to control England for the next twelve years, and the history of the next twelve years, with the loss of the American colonies, is the result of that control. The American reader studies with curious pains the details of the intrigues on which depended the fate of his own country. He finds, to his surprise, that hardly any man in England knew any thing about the colonies or cared much for them or for theirs. The government had no policy. It was committed to retaining the tea tax, partly to show that it had the right of taxation and partly because it would maintain the favorable consideration of the great East India Company. But matters of local policy, local intrigues, and personal cabals, occupied the statesmen of England so much that they could scarcely devote an hour to the consideration of the condition of their colonies.

CHAPTER XV.

The Boston Tea Party.

Massachusetts Assembly—Town Meetings—Destruction of Tea in Boston Harbor—Hearing Before the Privy Council—Recall of Hutchinson—Refusal of All the Sea-ports to Receive Tea—Boston Port Bill—Virginia Assembly—Continental Congress—Re-inforcement of Governor Gage—Percy's Brigade—Provincial Assembly—English Troops March to Lexington—Go On to Concord—Retreat to Boston—English Loss—Continental Congress Meets for the Second Time—George Washington Appointed Commander-in-Chief—Battle of Bunker Hill.

READING as we read, with a knowledge of the event, we search through correspondence and memoirs for some hint of what was to follow. Such bodies as the Assembly of Massachusetts, led by eager patriots, had always some quarrel with the crown governor. But on the whole the storm seemed to have lulled. It might have passed over for a time but for the alliance of the king's friends with the East India Company.

This company was acquiring the importance under which, not long after, it attained its Eastern empire. It was burdened with seventeen million pounds of tea, partly because the Americans had refused to drink tea which paid the English duty. Lord North had to lend the company a million and a half of money to save it from bankruptcy. The teas in England had already paid six pence per pound of import duty. Lord North offered to the company to repay them these duties as a drawback on all teas exported to America. He thus gave to the Americans what they wanted—a suspension of the Navigation Act—so far as teas were concerned. And to this plan Parliament consented. The directors of the East India Company knew America better

than Lord North did. They begged to be permitted to land the tea free in America, and offered to give up for this privilege the drawback which the government offered. But the king said, "There must be one tax to keep up the right." It was but three pence a pound. It was only one half of what the English subject paid. But the English subject who agreed to pay it had his vote in the House of Commons. The American subject had not. There was the difference. "The tax is but three pence," said James Otis in the speech assigned to him; "but it was for half a penny that Hampden resisted." The company chartered its own ships and freighted them for America, consigning them to different sea-ports.

While this was passing the public feeling in Massachusetts was made more bitter by the discovery of twelve letters written by Hutchinson and Oliver to the government through these years of controversy. It was proved from these letters that these two Americans had proposed the introduction of troops. Hutchinson had said in one that he doubted if it were possible that the people of a colony should enjoy all the liberty of the parent state. One of the letters proposed the establishment of a patrician order. Nothing could have more excited the colonies. It proved that they were wounded in the house of their friends. Echoes of this excitement even reached London. The Massachusetts Assembly prayed the king to remove Hutchinson and Oliver, who were governor and lieutenant-governor. His Council met in the fullest meeting remembered to hear the petition. After it had been presented and supported by Mr. Dunning, Mr. Wedderburn spoke, as solicitor-general, in reply. Much of his speech was a coarse attack on Franklin, whom he charged with being a thief. The council pronounced the petition of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts groundless and scandalous. But the younger Pitt in the House of Commons afterward expressed the opinion of history when he called it "a scene in the cock-pit." Walpole wrote this epigram on the interview:

"Sarcastic Sawney, swollen with spite and prate,
On silent Franklin poured his venal hate,
The calm philosopher without reply
Withdrew, and gave his country liberty."

Franklin wore that day a suit of clothes of a stuff then called Manchester velvet. He laid by the clothes with the determination that he would never wear them till Wedderburn's insults were revenged. And it was ten years afterward that he put them on, when, as Plenipotentiary of America, he signed, with the English Plenipotentiary, the treaty in which England acknowledged the independence of of his country.

This incident was the more exciting because the news had only just arrived in London of the destruction of three cargoes of tea in the harbor of Boston.

For all these years of controversy, the Massachusetts Assembly, when it met, and the Boston town meeting at any time of the year, were the chief visible or official opponents of the English government. The smaller towns did not hesitate in their meetings to assert the right of sovereignties which were well-nigh independent. And there is many a record of a vote in a New England town meeting directing the selectmen to buy powder, or to build a powder-house, when the vote meant war against the king and the men who voted knew that this was its meaning.

In Boston the town meetings were led by Samuel Adams and men who agreed with him. They had instituted a system of correspondence which kept them in connection with all the towns in the colony, and eventually was extended to all the patriotic assemblies in the different colonies. The arrival of the hated tea in the harbor of Boston was an occasion quite important enough to demand the attention of a town meeting. Such a meeting was called, and the neighboring towns were invited to send representatives to it.

The meeting was regarded, however, as a formal meeting of the "town of Boston." As such it acted, and it gave the instruction of the "town" to the consignees of the tea ships to

send them back to England. The consignees replied that they could not pass the fort in the harbor without a permit from Governor Hutchinson. The "town" bade them obtain such a permit at once, and they attempted to do so.

But the governor had stolen to his country house, ten miles away. The consignees followed him there, and he refused the technical permit. He knew, of course, that the king's ministers would regard it as given in weak compliance to a mob, as they regarded the transfer of "Sam Adams's regiments," three years before. The consignees returned to Boston with news of his refusal.

Meanwhile the town meeting had been in session all day. The sun had long set when the news from Milton came. Sam Adams arose and said "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country." It was voted that the meeting be dissolved. At that moment a war-whoop sounded outside of the meeting-house where the assembly was gathered. The crowd rushed out to see a body of men rudely disguised as Mohawk Indians, on their way to the ships. Another body from the south end of the town joined them. The arrangements had been carefully concerted, probably in the secrecy of Masonic Lodge rooms. In all, a body of forty or fifty young men met at the wharves where the tea vessels lay. The population of the town followed, from the meeting-house and elsewhere. The "Indians" set a guard to keep all others from the ships. They took possession of the vessels. With the skill of men used to the business they hoisted the tea chests from the holds. They spilt them open with axes and threw the tea into the water. Before midnight all the tea was floating on the waves, and with the ebb tide was taken out to sea.*

The work of destruction had been done under a clear moon, in sight of half the town. The governor was away. The military commander at Fort William did not, perhaps, know what was passing. If he did know he did not venture

*Specimens of it, preserved carefully in bottles as it was gathered on beaches are still shown.

to interfere. This was the answer of the town of Boston to the crown.

Such was the news which had arrived in London two days only before the important meeting of the privy council to consider American affairs. It will be well understood that it had its share in calling out the scornful refusal of the privy council to listen to the petition of Massachusetts, and that it gave point and sarcasm to the invective of Wedderburn. The cause of Massachusetts had, indeed, been prejudged before the hearing.

It is to be said to Franklin's credit that he did not permit the insult heaped upon him to check him in the steadfast efforts which he made for reconciliation. In the House of Lords the Earl of Buckinghamshire said that Franklin was in London not as the agent of a province, but as an embassador from the States of America. "Such language is wild," said the Earl of Stair, in reply, and urged a more conciliatory tone. Franklin himself lost favor at home by urging that compensation should be made for the tea; and in England, where he remained more than a year, he did his best to soften prejudices and to explain the true necessities of the case. But even Franklin did not know how determined was the enemy of America. This enemy was the king himself. On the 4th of February the king sent for General Gage, who held the command of the English forces in America, but was at this time in London. He expressed his readiness to return at a day's notice. "They will be lions," he said, "while we are lambs;" and, again, he told the king that, if four regiments were sent to Boston, they would prevent any disturbance. The king believed him, and said he would enforce the claim of authority at all hazards. He said that the folly which gave way about the Stamp Act had increased the American pretensions. He found nothing objectionable in the letters of Hutchinson. He said the address of Massachusetts was the nut of falsehood and malevolence. On the 7th of February he received the report of the privy council, and dismissed the petition as groundless, vexatious and scandalous.

So soon as Lord North could prepare his measures for the punishment of Boston he did so. He introduced bills by which the port of Boston was to be closed against foreign commerce. The army was to be posted again in the town. Hutchinson, as a civilian, was called to London, and General Thomas Gage, the Governor of New York and commander of the military force in America, was made Governor of Massachusetts. He was at this time in London and was at once sent to Boston. All this meant that the government intended to repress, by force, the disobedience to the home legislation. It was, virtually, a declaration of war.

Meanwhile all the seaboard colonies had thrown in their lot with Massachusetts. Each seaport had refused to receive the tea. It was sent home, or it was stored and kept under guard. But it may be doubted if a cup of tea was ever made from it in America; and it seems certain that not a penny of revenue was ever collected from this fatal enterprise in which the English government undertook the duties of exporting merchandise.

So soon as the Boston Port Bill became known assurances of sympathy were sent to Boston from the other colonies. With them the colonists sent money and food for the support of the people thrown out of work by the closing of the port. The other New England harbor towns offered to receive Boston vessels without harbor charges. They scorned the temptation to build up a prosperity for themselves at the expense of their suffering friends.

In the Virginia Assembly, George Washington, who had been a leading member for fifteen years, said he would gladly raise a regiment of a thousand men, and march with them to Boston, in any effort to break up the tyranny which had made of that town a garrison. The 1st of June, when the Port Bill took effect, was celebrated as a day of fasting throughout the colonies. In Washington's diary are the words, "Fasted all day."

Both sides prepared for war. The English government removed to Boston regiments from other points of America,

and re-enforced Governor Gage from England, so that before the end of the year he had eleven regiments—more than five thousand soldiers—in a town of which the resident population was only ten or twelve thousand. It was difficult to provide barracks for them. Percy's brigade spent the winter in tents on Boston Common.

On the other side, every town in New England was training its militia to arms. Picked companies of "Minute-men," to be ready to march at a moment's notice, received special discipline. On the 1st day of September Gage sent a force by water five miles up the Mystic River to bring in some powder from a powder-house. The echo to the act was the march on Boston of thousands of men in arms, who were summoned by the Executive Committee of the Massachusetts Assembly. So soon as it was known that he marched no farther this movement was countermanded. The patriot leaders had determined that he should not march inland. Occasionally he sent an officer into the country to gather news. Such a messenger found that he had to travel as secretly as a spy to conceal his position and his object, and that the whole country was determined that no military movement inland should be made.

But this was not a quarrel of the colony of Massachusetts alone, nor of New England. It never had been. On the 5th of September a congress of fifty-five representatives from eleven colonies, called at the suggestion of the Sons of Liberty, of New York, met at the Carpenters' Hall in Philadelphia. It chose Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, its president, and assumed the title of Congress. Patrick Henry, George Washington, both Adamses, Gadsden and Rutledge, all of whom afterward filled such important trusts, were members. They agreed that each colony should have one vote, because Congress could not "procure proper materials for ascertaining the importance of each colony." They resolved to meet in secret session. They discussed the very difficult subject of their real relation to the crown of England, and they found already a wide difference of opinion. They voted, but not

unanimously, an approval of the opposition of Massachusetts to the late acts of Parliament, and that all America ought to support Massachusetts in such opposition. By a very narrow majority, as an act of concession, they recognized a certain imperial character in Parliament; but they named eleven acts of Parliament as violations of the rights of the colonies. They resolved to import no merchandise from Great Britain or Ireland after the 1st of December, and not to export any thing to those countries, or the West Indies, with the single exception of rice. They agreed to import no slaves after that time nor purchase any imported—"We will wholly discontinue the slave trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels or sell our commodities to those who are concerned in it."

Congress refused to petition Parliament again; but it sent addresses to the people of all the provinces of America and to the people of Great Britain. It appointed a second Congress to meet in May.

While Congress sat the men of Massachusetts watched the governor and his army. Each side was resolved that the first open act in war should come from the other. No one expected that such a strain could last long; but neither party meant to give the first stroke. Massachusetts, however, was already practically independent of the crown. Since the governor had prorogued the General Court a "Provincial Assembly," which was really the same thing, had been chosen, and met without his orders. This body when it adjourned appointed a committee of five to be the executive of the State in its recess. It took the visible sign of sovereignty by directing the people not to pay their taxes to the royal treasurer, but to a treasurer appointed by itself. And the people did so. If any thing could have shown the English ministry that they were really independent this should have done so; for here the whole business of government went on among a people who refused to recognize the royal governor. Justice was administered, the regular courts were conducted, roads were built, schools were kept, taxes paid and spent with the

same regularity as for one hundred and fifty years before. But in all this not a penny was contributed at the order of the king or his ministers.

The Provincial Assembly and the Committee of Safety had made stringent orders for the discipline of the military force of the colony. More than this, they had made some purchases of military stores, not considerable in amount, but important as showing their purpose. They had, without secrecy, directed that these stores, among which were some cannon with powder and shot for their use, and some provisions for soldiers on a campaign, should be stored at Concord.

If Gage were to show any sign of governing, here was the point of his attack. He could not well break up a court of justice held under the authority of the people, but he assured himself of the existence of these military stores at Concord, and thought he should feel the temper of the people and alarm them by seizing them. As the snow and ice melted away, int he spring of 1775, he showed that he was not imprisoned in Boston, by what he called "a military promenade" one day—going out with one or two regiments by one road, on the south of the town, returning on another. The patriots were on the watch. They declared that if he had gone further he should have been driven back by their Minutemen. He sent one or two detachments out by water, but withdrew them at once. The declaration of the Americans was soon to be tested.

On the night of the 18th of April a force of about eight hundred light infantry of the English army were quietly placed in boats and rowed across the mouth of Charles River to the place now known as East Cambridge. About midnight they took up their march toward Concord, about eighteen miles northwest from them. They passed West Cambridge, where the Committee of Safety were, at three o'clock. They did not know that the executive of the colony was almost in their hands. But these gentlemen only escaped from their beds by their windows, without wasting time in

dressing. The country behind them was more thoroughly aroused. Paul Revere had waited at Charlestown till two lanterns in the North Church taught him that the expedition had moved by water. He knew then that Concord was the object. Toward that town he rode, notifying the local popular leaders on his way. The Minute-men turned out promptly, though in the middle of the night. At four o'clock in the morning Parker's company paraded seventy strong on Lexington Green. Not hearing of any enemy he directed them to go into the meeting-house to sleep; and it was not till daybreak that, on the advance of the English, they were again called out and formed as a company.

Major Pitcairn, of the English marines, came forward and bade them disperse. Parker himself saw that he was wholly outnumbered, and gave no order to fire. Neither commander meant to precipitate the contest, and neither of them did. The word was given by higher authority.

It seems probable that some Lexington man, without orders from his captain, pulled his trigger. The gun flashed in the pan. At the flash the foremost file of English fired. Eight Americans fell dead; among these the soldier who had drawn the pent-up fire of years. Their companions returned the fire. One Englishman was killed. At Parker's command his company retired. The English cheered, and continued their advance to Concord. It was now day.

The English force entered Concord about three hours afterward. The Minute-men of Concord withdrew before them from the village and joined the companies of other towns of Middlesex county, gathering just outside the town on the north side of Concord River. The English placed a guard on the bridge and began searching for the artillery and other stores. A part of these had been removed or concealed; a part were found and set on fire. The commanders of the American Minute-men, who were increasing in number with every hour, on seeing the smoke from Concord, resolved to force the bridge. The Acton company had the honor of leading the way. The English fired. Davis, the captain of

the Acton company, was killed. His men advanced over his body, drove off the English company, and knew that war had begun.

In face of such a force, increasing constantly, Colonel Smith, the English commander, could not tarry. He took his wounded men and began to retire on Boston. The Minute-men from all the towns of eastern Massachusetts were waiting for him and searching for him. The Minute-men of Middlesex, who had formed at Concord, were pushing him. At every point of vantage men who knew every inch of the country attacked him. His retreat became a flight. He was wounded himself, and could no longer direct the movements. His jaded men, on the run in their panic, welcomed with joy at Lexington a re-enforcement under Lord Percy.

Percy had marched from Boston at nine in the morning, through Roxbury and Cambridge, and arrived at Lexington just in time to save the wreck of the first division. But he saw that he must not linger. He took what he could of the wounded under his escort and returned to Cambridge in as good order as he might. But every stone wall was lined with fire, and night had fallen, when, to the anxious people of Boston waiting upon Beacon Hill, the return of the two expeditions was indicated by the flash of the musketry on the north side of the bay. Percy withdrew into the peninsula of Charlestown, stationed artillery on Charlestown Neck, and the flight of the English army was over.

Gage had begun the war and had been driven back to his quarters.

The English loss was 73 men killed, 174 wounded and 26 taken prisoners. The American companies lost 49 men killed, 39 wounded and 5 prisoners.

Meanwhile the country was roused. North, west and south quick couriers took the news; and before night towns as far west as the Connecticut were sending their contingents of Minute-men toward Boston. General Ward, the head of the Massachusetts militia, took command. He guarded Boston Neck and Charlestown Neck, that the English should not

come out by land. He built forts on Charles River to prevent their coming by water. He cut off all provisions from Boston. What is called the siege of Boston began.

The Continental Congress met, meanwhile, for the second time in Philadelphia. As the delegates gathered, men observed that George Washington, the first delegate from Virginia, was in the uniform of the provincial troops of that colony—the old blue and buff of the best days of England. He had traveled, on horseback, from his home to Philadelphia in this dress. George Washington was widely known as the Virginia Patriot. For fifteen years he had been the leading member of the Virginia Assembly. He had commanded her forces in the end of the last war. At this time he was the richest man in America. In the discussion at tending the Port Bill he had offered to equip a regiment and march with it to Boston, at his own expense, if his services were needed there to preserve the liberties of America.

When the delegates to the Congress were chosen most men still hoped that a dignified protest would move England; would change the ministry, perhaps ; would certainly procure redress. Almost all men had great confidence in the young king. We know now that he was his own worst enemy and America's, but good men then thought that he was hoodwinked by bad men, and only needed to be enlightened. Congress had hardly met, however, when the news of Lexington and Concord came. On that news the Massachusetts Assembly met. Besides their forces the regiments of New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Connecticut were in the besieging army. The Assembly urged Congress to assume this army as its own and appoint its general officers. This was to make the army national, or, as the fine phrase was, "Continental."

All men understood that, while the resistance at Lexington, and even the pursuit which followed the retreat from Concord, might possibly be regarded as accident, unauthorized, such an act as the recognition of an army was the declaration of war.

General Ward and his army could not wait the decision

of this point. By a bold movement he precipitated the battle of Bunker Hill. The English had withdrawn from the peninsula of Charlestown and left it unfortified, though it could have been held by twenty men. Ward and his advisers profited by their oversight. On the night of the 16th of June he sent a force of fifteen hundred men, of Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Hampshire troops, to seize and fortify Bunker Hill, behind the town of Charlestown. If he could hold this hill he could drive the English navy from the harbor of Boston. The men carried with them entrenching tools, and before daylight a considerable entrenchment was thrown up on Breed's farm, a spur of Bunker Hill which approached nearest Boston.

Gage was taken entirely by surprise; but he acted promptly, even rashly. He had been largely re-enforced since the day of Lexington, and had with him Generals Howe, Burgoyne and Clinton. They made a bold resolution to attack the American redoubt in front; but they were not ready to attack till the afternoon. The works grew stronger every hour. At the first attack the English troops broke and ran. They were mostly men who had never been under fire. A second attack was as disastrous. It was not till the third attack that Howe, who had discovered the weak spot in the American line, pressed them in the rear of the redoubt while Pigot attacked in front. These attacks could have been resisted, perhaps, but the little garrison had exhausted its supply of powder. Prescott, the American commander, withdrew his men to Bunker Hill, where Putnam was fortifying. The English did not follow. The Connecticut contingent, with Stark and the New Hampshire men, had thrown up on the east a work which they defended till the failure of the redoubt compelled them also to withdraw.

Never was a victory won at such cost. The attacking force of 2,500 men lost 1,054 in killed and wounded. Burgoyne wrote home, under the seal of secrecy, that the privates misbehaved. But the charge is hardly made out when we read that of one company of the Fifty-second, led by Howe in

person, every man was wounded or killed. The American loss was 150 killed, 270 wounded and 30 prisoners. In a certain sense the battle decided the war; for from this moment the English never undervalued their enemy; and it has been said that from this moment the English troops were never led to the attack of fortified works in the Revolution. The attack at Groton is possibly an exception, but the large fort there was held by only a handful of men. Burgoyne wrote home after the battle of Bunker Hill that "The men in all the corps having twice felt the enemy to be more formidable than they expected, it will require some training before they can be prudently intrusted in many exploits against such odds."

CHAPTER XVI.

Washington in Command.

Congress Meets in May—Ticonderoga and Crown Point—News from Lexington, Concord and Boston—Address of the Massachusetts Assembly—George Washington—His Appearance in Blue and Buff—His Appointment as Commander-in-Chief of the "Continental" Army—Gates and Lee Appointed to Important Posts—Washington Takes Command July 3—Powder Supply Low—Arnold's Quebec Expedition—It Fails, After Some Successes—The Heights of Dorchester—Evacuation of Boston—"Hostibus Primo Fugatis"—Lee Sent to New York, Then to Charleston—Sea and Land Force Sent by the Enemy to Take Charleston—Attack Begun by Clinton—Spirit of the Carolinians—English Forces Obliged to Withdraw.

THE Continental Congress met on the 10th of May. Had its members known it, the very night before its meeting Ethan Allen with a band of volunteers from the "Hampshire Grants," the region which we now call Vermont, with the assistance of a company under Arnold from Connecticut, had seized the king's fort at Ticonderoga. Their possession of Crown Point followed. The munitions of war thus taken were of great value, as it proved, to the army besieging Boston.

The Congress at once received the news of the march on Lexington, of the uprising of the people, and of the retreat of the English force and the consequent siege of Boston by the Minute-men of the four New England colonies. The Provincial Assembly of Massachusetts addressed Congress most seriously and earnestly by the delegates of that colony. Massachusetts begged Congress to assume the army as its own, and to appoint its general officers. In conversation and in public address they soon pointed out George Washington, of Virginia, himself a member of Congress, as the commander-in-chief whom they would prefer.

Washington, as has been said, had shown, in his decided way, what he thought the character of the contest. To go to Philadelphia and to attend the sessions of Congress he had assumed the blue and buff uniform of the Virginia troops, whom he had led in battle to such purpose in the late war. It was the uniform of England's armies in England's best days. The colors of this uniform have been the symbolic colors of the parties of liberal opinion in England from the days of Cromwell to our own. By assuming a military dress Washington expressed his opinion. He had expressed that opinion in the House of Burgesses of Virginia.

On the 15th of June he was appointed commander-in-chief of the patriot army, and Congress assumed that army as the army of "the Continent." This phrase, adopted now for the United States, conveyed the hope that Canada and the province of Nova Scotia would join them. Florida, now under the English flag, seemed also to these men to belong to the nation which was opposing the Parliament. Washington had not sought, nor had he expected, this appointment. He accepted it with great modesty, and in private said that he was sure that his public reputation would decline from this day.

Several major-generals and brigadier-generals were appointed, an effort being made to meet the wishes of the different colonies. Gates and Lee, two Englishmen, of whose military capacity high opinions were entertained, were named to important posts. This selection proved afterward to be a great misfortune. Lee proved a traitor and Gates caballed against the commander-in-chief. Both have found their true place in history.

General Washington arrived at the camp on the 2d of July, and took command in form on the 3d. He appointed Ward, who was his senior major-general, to command on the right wing, which commanded the land approach to Boston. The left of Washington's army commanded Charlestown Neck, by which also the English army could have marched into the country. In fact, on the critical day of Lexington Lord Percy had marched out by the one route and returned by the other. Washington's army thus extended twelve miles from the north-east by a broken line toward the south.

Not long after his arrival the discovery was made—almost fatal—that the Americans' stock of powder was much less than had been supposed. They had not nine rounds for every man they had under arms. It is said that Washington was silent for a considerable time after this revelation was made. Every effort was made to conceal the need even from the army. Every effort was made to supply it, and with such success that in October Washington felt strong enough to detach Arnold, a spirited brigadier, who had joined in the conquest of Ticonderoga, for an attack on Quebec. He was to join Schuyler, who was in command on Lake Champlain.

Arnold pushed bravely and promptly through the wilderness of Maine. He arrived on the banks of the St. Lawrence in December. He climbed the Heights of Abraham, as Wolfe had done, and drove the little English force into the city. He then sent to the other army, which had in the meantime taken St. John and Montreal, news of his success, and, under General Montgomery, they joined him. On Christmas day the American army attacked the city. But Montgomery was killed and the little force was thrown back from the fortifica-

tions. As soon as spring opened Washington re-enforced them largely; but, unhappily for their cause, the small-pox broke out in the army. General Thomas, a brave and successful leader, died with it, and the army suffered. It fell back step by step, and at the end of 1776 abandoned Canada. Success at Quebec, which at one time seemed probable, would have changed the history of the war; for there the Americans would have found just the munitions of war which they so much needed.

Washington had himself been more successful. On the night of the 5th of March, 1776, General Ward detached General Thomas, the same who has been spoken of, to seize two hills in Dorchester which commanded Boston harbor on the south. Thomas built such strong works that General Howe did not dare attack them. The English admiral, however, could not remain in the harbor while the Americans held them. Howe notified Washington at once that if he would not molest town or shipping he would leave at once without injuring the town. This promise he kept, and on the 17th of March, 1776, the liberating army marched into Boston in triumph. Congress ordered a medal of gold struck for Washington. It bears a portrait of him and the mottoes *Bostonium Recuperatum* and *Hostibus Primo Fugatis*. For three months the country was left with hardly a foreign soldier on its soil.

The American leaders knew that the English government would make its next great effort at New York. So soon as the English fleet left the harbor of Boston, therefore, Washington began to dispatch his army to New York, and sent Lee to that city to take charge of its defense against an enemy. Lee never deceived himself or his superiors as to the possibility of holding the island of New York against such a naval force as the English could command. But he attempted to make it what he called disputable ground, and he succeeded. He was, however, soon called farther south.

General Clinton, who was next in command to Howe, and who knew America well, had been put in command of a land

force, which, with the co-operation of a large English fleet, was to take the city of Charleston, in South Carolina, and so secure a foothold in the southern States for the army which had been dislodged from the northern. The plan was the favorite plan of the king, who selected seven regiments who were to carry it out, and put them under Earl Cornwallis, a brilliant young officer, who had friends at court who never forgot him. Clinton, from Halifax, to which place of refuge Howe had retired, joined this force, and took command of it at Wilmington, in North Carolina. To meet it Lee was summoned from the north and took the command of the Americans on the 4th of June, at Charleston. But the detail of the history seems to show that the issue was due not to him, but to the spirit of the Carolinians and the people of Charleston. Lee had not then learned, and never did learn, what is the real force of a people determined to fight for its rights. He was always hampered, and on this occasion he hampered those under his command, by the technicalities—to which he gave too much importance—of his military education.

On the 28th of June the English moved to the attack by water and by land. The Admiral, Parker, had ten ships—two of them of fifty guns. Clinton landed the soldiers on Long Island—to the north of Sullivan's Island—on which Colonel Moultrie had built, and was still building, the fort which from that day took his name. Lee seems to have doubted whether he could hold it, but the Carolinians staked all on their success—and succeeded. After a very close fire the squadron was withdrawn with a terrible loss of men. Clinton was at no moment able to cross the creek which separated him from Sullivan Island. And thus this strong and well-equipped expedition was withdrawn—having been beaten off by the brave opposition of the people of the province; who had really no assistance from the Continental army. Recriminations most bitter followed between the English Admiral Parker, who was himself wounded, and the commanders of the land forces. Such was the first news which George III. was to receive of the new campaign.

CHAPTER XVII.

Declaration of Independence.

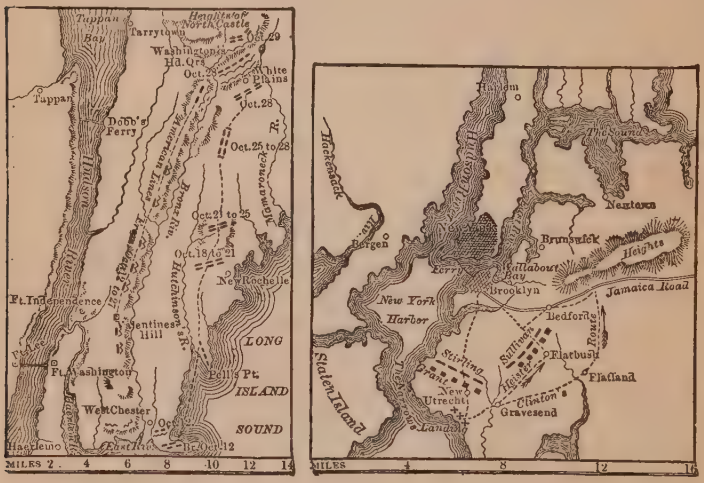
Congress in a False Position—Public Opinion Changes—Resolutions of Independence and Signature of the Declaration—Arrival of the Howes in New York Harbor—"The Olive Branch"—It Does Not Answer the Purpose—Howe's Army Landed on Long Island—Beats the Americans There—Washington Is Obliged to Abandon New York—Battle of White Plains—Both Armies Move Southward—Washington Crossing the Delaware—Battles of Trenton and Princeton—Withdrawal of Cornwallis—Washington at Morristown.

THUS far the war had been carried on by the colonies under the declaration, often publicly made, that they had no quarrel with the king, but that they fought against his wicked ministry. Indeed, the Continental Congress, while it commissioned the officers of the army to fight against his troops, also sent a petition to him representing, as subjects might represent, the wrongs of his American colonies. But every day showed that it was impossible to maintain this delusion. No one, indeed, did more to dispel it than George III. himself, who was from the beginning to the end of the controversy the most resolute and blind enemy of the newborn States.

As the winter of 1775 and the spring of 1776 passed by, men felt more and more that the position was a false one. In February, 1776, men summoned to do jury service in Massachusetts under the old form, by "King George III.," refused to serve, because they said they owed him no allegiance and would render him no service. At the same time Thomas Paine, who had recently arrived from England, published a pamphlet called *Common Sense*, which stated simply that as the colonies were independent, and did not mean to obey the king, they had better say so. This pamphlet was

every-where read. Different State assemblies began to urge Congress to take this position. It was the position which Samuel Adams had looked forward to for years, and to which he and men like him had tried to educate the country.

Under the steady pressure of the people the Congress followed, rather than led, a fixed and unerring demand. On the 2d of July, 1776, the thirteen States, in Congress assembled, resolved unanimously that the "Thirteen colonies are, and of right ought to be, independent States." The delegates signed the well-known Declaration of Independence. The day on which the document was engrossed and signed by



most of them was the Fourth of July, and that day has ever since been celebrated as the birthday of the nation.

When the Declaration was signed, the nation, as has been said, had hardly a foreign soldier on its soil. But not many days after General Howe re-appeared, with a fleet commanded by Lord Howe, his brother, in the harbor of New York. A part of this force was the Boston army, recruited and refreshed at Halifax. A part was from England and a part was Clinton's force from Carolina. Altogether, the army num-

bered thirty-one thousand men; the largest army ever on foot in one place in America until the civil war of 1861.

The two Howes announced at once that they had brought "the olive branch." They had, indeed, large promises tending to reconciliation. But the English government had not yet contemplated a Declaration of Independence, and they had no credentials which permitted them to acquiesce in it. After an informal interview with a committee of Congress, therefore, the "olive branch" was withdrawn, and General Howe landed his army on Long Island a little south of Brooklyn.

Washington had occupied New York and Brooklyn with the Continental army, and had fortified both places. He was, however, largely outnumbered. The whole Continental army was not equal to Howe's, and considerable detachments of it were in Canada and at the north. Howe attacked the force on Long Island with spirit, beat it in the battle of Long Island, August 27, and drove it within its works at Brooklyn. The loss of the Americans was severe—nearly three hundred killed and wounded and almost one thousand prisoners. Howe lost only three hundred and sixty-seven men. When the news of this victory reached England he was made Sir William Howe by the concession of the title of a Knight of the Bath.

Washington withdrew his army to New York. The English frigates ran by the island in spite of his efforts to stop them by his batteries. He gradually withdrew his force up Manhattan Island, fighting as he went, but finally yielded the island, excepting Fort Washington, to Howe, in the latter part of October. Howe followed him to White Plains, where a battle indecisive in results was fought on the 28th of October. Howe then determined to cross the Jerseys, perhaps with a view of attacking Philadelphia. Washington crossed the North River above him and retired before him, crossing the Delaware.

In this change of position he lost Fort Washington, with two thousand men, and was obliged to abandon Fort Lee. These were the two points, one on Harlem Heights, the other opposite, where the Americans had hoped to hold the passage of the Hudson River.

Winter was coming on. With the year ended the enlistment of Washington's army. Repeated defeats had discouraged them. Lee, the second in command, was taken prisoner while the retreat went on. It has since proved that Lee was in treacherous correspondence with the enemy.

It was then that Washington turned upon the force so largely his superior. "Now is the time to clip their wings," he said, "when they are so far spread." On the morning of the 26th of December he surprised the advanced post at Trenton and took one thousand prisoners. A few days after he cut the English line of supplies at Princeton, in New Jersey, and took five hundred prisoners. Cornwallis, in command of the English, withdrew hastily to Brunswick, to protect the supplies of the army there, and Washington, who had meanwhile re-enlisted a considerable part of his army, took up his winter quarters somewhat to the north of Brunswick, at Morristown.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Burgoyne and the Campaign of 1777.

New York Becomes the Center of English Operations—General Sir John Burgoyne—His Expedition at First Successful—Americans Defeated at Ticonderoga and Hubbardston—Burgoyne's Detachments Beaten at Bennington and Oriskany — Massachusetts and Connecticut Strengthen Gates's Army—Burgoyne's Uusuccessful Attempts to Break the Americans—His Surrender at Saratoga—Howe Engages Washington at the Southward—Battle of the Brandywine—Congress Obliged to Leave Philadelphia to Howe—Battle of Germantown—Skirmishing During the Autumn—Washington's Winter Quarters at Valley Forge.

SO soon as the American question came into the hands of military men they advised the English government to make New York the center of their operations. So long as there had been a theory that Boston had been the only point really in rebellion it was natural that the principal force for the suppression of that rebellion should be stationed there. But when it was evident that the "Continent" was in arms, the English arrangements, like those of their enemies, were made on a continental scale.

General John Burgoyne had a certain reputation as a military, man founded on very slight performances. He returned to England in 1775 and advised the re-enforcement of Canada by an expedition under his own command, which should be strong enough to move down the Hudson River, and, as the dream of the time suggested, cut off New England from what were thought to be the more loyal colonies of the Middle States and the south.

Fortune favored Burgoyne at the beginning. The smallpox had more than decimated the Continental army in Canada. It had lost its best generals, with the exception of Ar-

nold, in the death of Montgomery and Thomas. It had retired from the bold attack on Quebec, and in June it abandoned Montreal. Schuyler, who was for the time in command, was well satisfied to hold Ticonderoga and Crown Point, at the southern end of Lake Champlain, and to defend that highway into Canada through which his army had passed so confidently the year before.

As 1777 began, Burgoyne, with a well-appointed and sufficient army, followed up the English advantage. In a magnificent fleet he sailed south along Lake Champlain. St. Clair, who was the American commander, abandoned Crown Point, but he hoped to hold Ticonderoga. By a bold push, however, Burgoyne seized the Sugar Loaf hill, above the fortress, which St. Clair had supposed inaccessible. It commanded the works entirely, and thus Ticonderoga, the key to New York, was lost by the Americans as suddenly as it had been gained two years before. St. Clair retired through the woods, covering his rear with a force of thirteen hundred men, commanded by Francis. They were overtaken at Hubbardston and defeated. Francis and fifty men were killed and three hundred men were taken prisoners. Schuyler seemed, to the indignant people of New England, to be able to do nothing but retreat. The executive of Massachusetts assailed him with contemptuous letters, and told him frankly that their militia would not serve under him. He and his superiors were obliged to give way under this storm of indignation. Gates, now the second in command to Washington, became commander to the northern army, as it was called. What was more to the point, as it proved, Arnold and Lincoln were directed to serve under him.

Burgoyne slowly advanced, keeping a line of communication with Canada. Partly to feed his army, partly to discourage rebellion, he sent out large foraging parties, as they must be called, to the west and east. Both parties were badly led and came to misfortune. In Vermont, Baum and Breyman, Hessian commanders, were met and beaten at Bennington by the militia of the "Hampshire Grants" under General Stark.

They lost nearly one thousand men. At Oriskany St. Leger hardly escaped from the militia of the Americans under Herkimer and Willett.

Burgoyne himself, with the military precision of an Austrian general of Daun's time, moved slowly toward the Hudson and crossed it. He hoped for co-operation from Howe at New York, and always said that he had been encouraged to expect it. But no aid came from the south. The western counties of Massachusetts and Connecticut stripped themselves to the last man that they might strengthen Gates. Lincoln, the Massachusetts general, and Arnold, from Connecticut, were in front of Burgoyne. Burgoyne attempted to break the Americans in the battle of Stillwater, on the 19th of September, but he lost more than six hundred and fifty men and was driven back to his lines. On the 7th of October he renewed the attempt, to fail again. Meanwhile his retreat to Lake Champlain was cut off. He had an army here in a wilderness and he could not even feed it. He received no news from Clinton, whom Howe had detached to assist him, and the great result was, that on the 13th of October he opened communications for a surrender with Gates, and on the 17th his army laid down their arms as prisoners of war. Five thousand seven hundred and fifty men were included in the capitulation.

The great news flew to every part of the country. The government of Massachusetts sent a special messenger with it to Franklin, in France. The chaise which bore the fortunate messenger from Nantes rattled up into the court-yard of Franklin's house at Passy, near Paris, and the young man sprang to the ground. Franklin had come out to welcome him. "Is it true, sir," said Franklin, "that Howe has entered Philadelphia?" "It is, sir," said the modest messenger. "But I have greater news than that. General Burgoyne and his army are prisoners of war."

The battles of Saratoga have been ranked together among the fifteen decisive battles of the world's history. France no longer doubted as to an American alliance. She announced

herself publicly as the friend of the insurgents, whom she had before assisted secretly. After this the question of formal independence was only a question of time.

Meanwhile, Howe had supposed that he should best assist Burgoyne by drawing Washington to the south, away from the Northern army. It was afterward said that the despatches which ordered him to move directly north to meet Burgoyne were left, unsent, in a pigeon-hole in the English war-office, because Lord George Germaine, the minister of the colonies, did not like the hand-writing and ordered them copied. It is said that the copy was forgotten and Howe left to follow his own purpose.

From a military point of view that purpose can be well defended. But it was Washington to whom Howe was opposed; and Washington was so true to the nation and so indifferent to his own reputation that he stripped himself of every available man and of all necessary supplies to strengthen Gates, who, so soon after, appeared as his rival. When Howe sailed, with most of his army, from New York, Washington thought for a moment that he was threatening Boston. But the squadron was soon reported at the south-west, and Washington then moved his army to cover Philadelphia. For five weeks of doubt Howe's squadron did not appear. Men even thought he had gone so far as Charleston. But at the end of August it was announced that he was in Chesapeake Bay. He thus avoided the American fortifications on the Delaware and drew Washington even farther from the north.

Washington attempted to resist his progress at the River Brandywine, and fought a battle there on the 11th of September. But his generals were out-maneuvered by the skill of Cornwallis and Knyphausen, and he was forced to retreat and leave Howe an open passage to Philadelphia. Congress, meanwhile, removed with its papers to Lancaster. On the 4th of October Washington attacked Germantown, a suburb of Philadelphia. For a moment he seemed to have succeeded, but again his generals retired, and he was obliged to acknowledge another failure to Congress and the country. But he

lost nothing in reputation. In Europe the steadiness of the attack on Germantown, immediately after a defeat, was noticed as a proof that this was an army, and not an armed mob, which he commanded. And for many weeks the country held the opinion, which John Adams expressed in a private letter, that "Howe was in his hands." When the news of Burgoyne's surrender arrived in Pennsylvania, in the enthusiasm of victory the American leaders wrote to their friends that they might soon expect to hear of a second capitulation.

This was not to be. The American forts on the Delaware, which were relied upon to separate the English army from its supplies, gave way, and the autumn afterward was spent in skirmishes, which sometimes almost claim the dignity of battles, between foraging parties of the English, and American light troops who tried to check them. When winter came Washington took his army into winter quarters at Valley Forge, not far west of Philadelphia, on the Schuylkill; a post from which he could observe every movement into the country by Howe, had that indolent commander made any.

CHAPTER XIX.

1778-1779.

The Alliance with France—Clinton's Appointment to Howe's Position—The Battle of Monmouth—Arrival of a French Fleet—Advantages of the Alliance—Reasons for British Inactivity—Military Exploits at the North and South—Results of the Year 1779.

SO soon as the critical news of the success at Saratoga arrived in France the king and his cabinet gave way to the pressure of public opinion and announced their willingness to recognize America as independent, and to make a treaty of alliance with her. This treaty was not at once accompanied by an open declaration of war with England. Lord North hoped, for a moment, that he might yet conciliate the colonies and reserve the whole power of England for a war with France. He sent new commissioners, with larger powers than before, to induce Congress to make terms of peace, this time recognizing that body as the executive of America. But he was too late, as he always was in such proposals.

General Howe had owed his advancement in the army to the fact that he was a descendant, by an illegitimate line, of George I. He had shown courage at Quebec and at Bunker Hill, and of the latter battle he had borne away the honors. He had been named as Gage's successor after Gage was withdrawn, and after his own signal success at Brooklyn he had been knighted. But he was indolent, and lacked enterprise. He had failed in his own theory of relieving Burgoyne by taking away his enemy, and as the winter passed he also was recalled to England and Sir Henry Clinton was appointed to succeed him. Clinton knew America well. He was the son of one of the royal governors of New York.

Clinton knew that a French fleet was approaching him.

He left Philadelphia with his whole army of fourteen thousand men and marched across the Jerseys to New York, closely followed and watched by Washington. At Monmouth Washington attacked him, or ordered an attack. Lee insisted on his right to command the attacking party after it had been assigned to Lafayette. Lee's misbehavior, or his treachery, discouraged the attack after it seemed to begin successfully, and Washington met him in full retreat. Washington gave him a rebuke which showed his impetuosity when he was excited, took command of the retreating forces and restored the hope of victory. But it was too late to win all the honors. The terrible heat of that summer's day was long made a proverb in America. Each party claimed the victory, and the losses, which were considerable on each side, showed that it had been a bravely contested field. Each side lost nearly four hundred men.

At the beginning of the year the French government detached a strong fleet under the Count D'Estaing into American waters. It was hoped and supposed that by breaking up the supremacy of the English by sea the American armies might be the superior by land. Had D'Estaing arrived a few days earlier all might have happened which was hoped for ; for his fleet was superior to the English, and had he cooped them up in the Delaware bay the English army in Philadelphia might have been starved, or beaten in the field.

But Clinton had already withdrawn to New York, sending his fleet round to the bay of New York. They left the Delaware only a few days before D'Estaing's arrival. D'Estaing followed them, and bravely attempted to enter New York harbor; but the pilots declined to take in such heavy vessels, and after lying a few days in the offing he went to Rhode Island, where, on his approach, the English burned twenty of their vessels to keep them from his hands.

General Sullivan, with the militia of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, at once attempted an attack on the English force at Newport, with the assistance of D'Estaing's squadron. But at this juncture Lord Howe, the English admiral, boldly

threatened D'Estaing, who went to sea to fight him. The action was indecisive, but D'Estaing took up his way to Boston harbor to refit. Sullivan and his army considered themselves deserted. He attacked the English lines with courage, however, but without success, and on the news of English re-enforcements withdrew. The English general, not finding D'Estaing or Sullivan, destroyed New Bedford, which he rightly considered a nest of privateers.

The Americans generally were disappointed that the advantages of the French alliance were so slight; but such disappointment was unreasonable. French stores clothed and armed the Continental army that year. A fortunate capture of English store-ships enabled Massachusetts to fit out D'Estaing for the West Indies. His supremacy at sea kept the English squadron virtually on the defensive. In short, the rest which the country gained from all critical operations for the year 1778 was the legitimate result of the French alliance.

In one of Cowper's poems, which was written about this period, he speaks of the English army as drugged at New York. Doubtless his amazement at the inaction of an army so costly and so largely supplied was shared by most of his countrymen. Such inaction was not due wholly to the indolence of generals, though it was convenient to assign it to that cause. The king was always arbitrary, and determined to persevere in his mad colonial system even after wiser men saw its absurdity. Lord North was anxious for conciliation. But he already knew the fatal secret of the king's incipient insanity, and he dared not thwart him. Meanwhile the immense force of American privateers was sweeping the seas. Rates of insurance became formidable, and the merchants of London were no longer enthusiastic supporters of the war. They were bearing its charges and knew they were. All these reasons conspired in compelling Lord North to hold the king's rage in check as well as he could, while, on the other hand, he dared not make peace. The confused condition of things in which he found himself after Burgoyne's defeat and the open French alliance accounts for a certain languor in his

prosecution of the war. In another chapter the reader will learn how active was the work of the American cruisers at sea, and how much it had to do in depressing in England the rage for conquest. In the very year of which we have sketched the passage, the stores which were intended for the English fleet were, in fact, captured by Massachusetts cruisers, were taken into Boston harbor, and were used, as has been said, for the outfit of D'Estaing's fleet on its way to the West Indies.

It was, however, in this summer, when the larger armies were more at rest, that in the beautiful valley of Wyoming, on the upper Susquehanna, the terrible massacre took place which is indissolubly connected with that name. In the autumn of the same year the Indians of the Six Nations, who had to revenge themselves for the losses they had suffered at Oriskany, attacked and burned Cherry Valley, in New York. In May of the same summer Captain Rogers Clark, one of the brave pioneers of Kentucky, had surprised and seized the English forts in what is now the State of Illinois.

As 1779 opened the English thought to carry the scene of the war to the South, where, as they supposed, they had more allies than at the North. Colonel Campbell was sent with two thousand men to reduce Savannah, and proceeded to do so. Lincoln was then appointed by Congress to command the American forces. The English raised some loyalist troops, and these and the patriot militia kept up what we have since learned to call a "Guerrilla Contest" through Georgia and both the Carolinas, with great bitterness on each side. On the 11th of May, General Provost, in command of the English, summoned Charleston to surrender. But his demand was refused, and after threatening the city for some time he retired upon Savannah.

At the North, Governor Tryon, with a body of loyalists, as they were called, and enough English regiments to make up three thousand men, seized and plundered New Haven and Norwalk, only to withdraw again. Clinton had already taken the forts on the Hudson at Stony Point and Verplanck's Point. Under Washington's direct orders General Wayne,

already known as "Mad Anthony," stormed Stony Point at midnight on the 15th of July and took five hundred prisoners and fifteen pieces of cannon. On the 19th of August Major Lee (Light Horse Harry) surprised Paulus Hook, now Jersey City, and carried off its garrison.

In August the State of Massachusetts, acting on its own account, undertook to assert its own empire on the Penobscot River, where its government then extended, as the Province of Maine belonged to it. With a fleet of three Continental vessels, three ships of the State navy and thirteen privateers, she sent a thousand men to reduce the English post there. But the fort proved too strong for capture by assault, and while squadron and army waited for slower approach they were shut in by an English fleet of five ships. Saltonstall, the American commander, thought this too strong a force to resist, and burned his fleet, which consisted of smaller vessels. The sailors and troops returned home by land, Lovel and Saltonstall, their commanders, sadly disgraced by their failure.

With such events, of which none were of critical importance, the year 1779 passed by. Men were discouraged that nothing more important followed on the sacrifices of the war. But, on the other hand, where the armies were not in the presence of each other—that is to say, in three fourths of the country, men went on with the ordinary pursuits of agriculture as if the new nation were at peace. The Eastern States, cut off as they were from the fisheries to which they were accustomed, were fitting out their vessels as privateers and went in quest of more dangerous game. They not only crippled the commerce of England, but they opened new channels for their own and considerably enriched the country by the prizes which they brought in.

All men knew, however, that France must enter the conflict on a larger scale in another year. The year 1779 had seen an inefficient plan for a French descent upon the Irish coast or that of Jersey, which did not, however, assume any considerable proportions. More efficient co-operation with America was proposed for 1780.

CHAPTER XX.

The War at Sea.

Seizure of English Vessels—Commissions Given to Privateers and Equipment of Vessels—Navy of Twenty-six Vessels—Numerous Privateers—Important Captures—Ezekiel Hopkins and His Captures—John Paul Jones—Depredations on the English Coast—Wickes of the *Reprisal*—His Prizes off the French Coast—Complaints of Lord Stormont, and Connivance of Vergennes—Wickes is Lost on the Home Voyage—Gustavus Conyngham Sails from Dunkirk—He Captures the Harwich Packet—He and His Crew Detained as Prisoners, but Soon Released—Subsequent Exploits in the Narrow Seas—Captured and Imprisoned in England—His Escape—Miserable Condition of American Prisoners in England—*Black Prince* and *Princess* and *Fearnot*—John Paul Jones of the *Ranger* Cruises on the Scotch Coast—*Bon Homme Richard*—Expedition on the English Coast with Four Other Vessels—Baltic Fleet, Convoyed by the *Serapis* and the *Countess of Scarborough*—Jones's Victory.

IMMEDIATELY after the battle of Lexington had begun the war, the seizure of one or two English vessels by the people of the sea-ports of the New England States made the first steps in what became a very important part of the contest. As the reader already knows, Washington commissioned vessels in the first summer of his command. The State of Massachusetts gave commissions to privateers also, and other States followed the same example. It was the earnest wish of John Adams that the country should go with spirit into the formation of a navy; and as early as the 13th of October, 1775, Congress authorized the equipment of two cruisers, and before the end of that year directed that fifteen vessels should be built. Many of these vessels never got to sea, having been blockaded in the rivers where they were built, and burned to escape capture from the enemy. But from this time forward the navy and the privateers bore an

important part in the war, and probably the injuries which they inflicted upon the commerce of England had a larger share than any successes on the land in changing the public opinion of England with regard to the independence of America.

Before October, 1776, the little navy consisted of 26 vessels, which mounted 526 guns. The force of privateers was very much larger. These vessels cruised in all parts of the Atlantic. Before the 1st of February, 1777, 250 English vessels in the West India trade alone had been captured by the Americans. Their value was estimated at ten million dollars. In the year 1777, 467 vessels of the English commercial fleet were captured. Nearly half of the fleet which traded directly between Ireland and the West Indies was taken; and of the vessels in the African trade only 40 escaped out of 400. The next year the captures were even larger. Before the end of 1780 the largest of the three admiralty districts of Massachusetts had condemned 818 prizes in all. In the next year, 1781, the port of Salem alone sent to sea 59 privateers. Of these, 12 carried 20 guns or more. The whole fleet, from that port only, carried nearly 4,000 men, and mounted 746 guns.

It will be seen, then, that the privateer fleet of the country was much larger than what was called the national navy. It was also, on the whole, much more successful. It is impossible, in such a history as this, to go into the details of the different adventures, whether of the navy or of the privateers. We must be satisfied by giving some slight account of the more important expeditions and their results. The school of the navy and the privateer service proved a very valuable training for the future of the country. And many men who afterward distinguished themselves in naval warfare learned their first lesson in the hardships of these voyages.

The appointments made to the navy begin with a list of officers named by Congress on the 22d of December, 1775. Of these Ezekiel Hopkins, of Rhode Island, was the com-

mander-in-chief. Hopkins was then put in charge of a little squadron which was sent to the Bahamas, in the hope, which was not disappointed, of obtaining a supply of powder and other munitions, so much needed, from the capture of the English forts there. On his return with his little fleet Hopkins engaged a small English squadron off Block Island, with an indecisive result. He incurred popular displeasure on account of his failure in this transaction, and eventually he was practically dropped from the lists of the navy. But he showed the mistake of those who superseded him by the spirit with which he engaged in the privateer service, in which he had great success. It is said of him that in a vessel under his command he once actually joined the West India fleet under convoy of an English officer, and that every night he captured one vessel of that fleet and sent a prize crew on board until he had made ten different prizes, when he withdrew himself successfully. It is said that of the prizes taken in this single expedition the value was a million dollars.

Among the lieutenants commissioned in this first list of naval officers was John Paul Jones. He served under Hopkins in these early battles, and afterward, in command of a small vessel, took several prizes in and near the Gulf of St. Lawrence. On his return to America he was disappointed at finding that the rank assigned him was very low, and he made a personal visit to Philadelphia and there obtained the command of the cruiser *Ranger*, which he took to Europe. This was just after Burgoyne's defeat, and he had hoped to be able to carry the news of that great event to the American commissioners in Paris. In this he was disappointed. But he refitted the *Ranger* for sea, and in the next year took the *Drake*, an English vessel of nearly equal force, and brought her into harbor. This action gave him great distinction among the people of France, who were very cordially disposed toward America, and put him in position to seek a higher command. There was at one time some prospect of his receiving this command in the French navy. But circum-

stances made this impossible, and another arrangement was made for him.

The American cruisers had been a terror on the English coast for more than a year before. The depredations of Captain Conyngham, in particular, had wrought a panic in the maritime circles.

When Franklin, Deane and Lee were chosen to constitute the American mission in Paris, one of their various duties was to be the procuring of ships for the American navy. It was also thought possible that cruisers might be fitted out on the continent to sail under American commissions and harass the English trade. The second of these plans proved more easy than the first. Franklin sailed from America on the 27th of October, 1776, in the frigate *Reprisal*, of which Wickes was captain. He reached Nantes on the 7th of December. The voyage was not a long one, nor had it been eventful. Twice had the *Reprisal* been chased by English cruisers, but at no time had there been any imminent danger. Wickes had also made prizes of two English ships which he came upon shortly after reaching the coast of France. These he disposed of as quickly as possible and proceeded to refit his ship. In the meantime he went about the seaports of western France to see if there might not be some ships for sale in one or another which would be suitable for use in the American navy. It had been expected that some such ship should be obtained and that Wickes should be put in command of it. He recommended Nicholson as a good man to take command of the *Reprisal*, in case he should be provided for. When his ship was ready, in the summer of 1777, he went to sea and picked up some five prizes, with which he returned to L'Orient. These captures created much disturbance. Lord Stormont, the English Ambassador, complained bitterly to the French court that American vessels should be allowed to refit in French ports and then issue thence to prey upon English commerce. The whole proceeding was, in truth, an open violation of the neutrality of France, of which that nation would have undoubtedly taken some serious notice had she not

been favorably disposed toward the Americans, whom, indeed, she was secretly aiding by money and munitions in their struggle. Although Vergennes, the French minister, was inclined to wink at these acts of Wickes, he was forced by his regard for appearances to do something. He sent orders to L'Orient that Wickes should quit that port within twenty-four hours. This could not be done, for the *Reprisal* was hauled up for repairs. In time, however, Wickes left L'Orient and sailed for Nantes, where he went on with his refitting. Being ordered out of Nantes he returned to L'Orient, and joining the *Lexington*, privateer, and the *Dolphin*, cutter, he sailed on another cruise as successful as the first. They had captured seventeen prizes, when they were chased by a large ship-of-war. Wickes escaped to St. Malo after throwing his guns overboard to lighten his ship. He was much irritated by the behavior of the English ship. "They pay very little regard to the laws of neutrality," he writes, "as they chased me and fired as long as they dared stand in, for fear of running ashore." Wickes himself was one of the most flagrant violators of neutrality, though he seems to have been quite unconscious of it. His proceedings in French ports were as much breaches of neutrality as was the Englishman's chasing him within the maritime league which is reserved by international law. These were, however, Wickes's last exploits. He shortly sailed for America. He never reached his own country, however, for he and his ship were lost on the return voyage off the banks of Newfoundland, where all on board, but one, perished. For themselves these operations were of no very great importance. Wickes inflicted no very great damage on English commerce, although he made some stir. The next achievement of the American navy was more important.

Deane, one of the commissioners in Paris, had long had at heart the fitting out of an expedition to cruise in the channel and pick up the English merchantmen. In conjunction with William Hodge he fitted out a small lugger at Dunkirk and commissioned Gustavus Conyngham as captain. Conyngham

sailed in the summer of 1777, and, coming across the mail packet from Harwich, he easily made prize of it and returned to Dunkirk. This expedition was such a breach of neutrality that the French court could not let it pass unnoticed. The packet was returned, and Conyngham and his crew were detained as prisoners. They did not remain in confinement long, however. Deane and Hodge fitted out another vessel for Conyngham, and, obtaining his release and that of his crew, they sent him to sea again, assuring the French court that the voyage was for trading purposes only. Conyngham, as soon as he got to sea, made prize of every thing he could. He hovered about the English towns and endeavored to burn the town of Lynn, but unsuccessfully. He was finally driven from the narrow seas and found refuge in Corunna, whence he sailed for America. On the way he was so unfortunate as to be captured by the *Galatea* and carried a prisoner into New York. Thence he was sent prisoner to England to be tried as a pirate, for it was pretended that he had had no commission when he captured the Harwich packet. But being confined in the Mill Prison, Plymouth, he succeeded in breaking out, with some fifty of his fellow-prisoners, and making his way to Amsterdam.

This is a proper place to say a word in regard to the American prisoners who were confined in England. They consisted of seamen taken in merchantmen or in ships-of-war. There were about a thousand of them, more or less, and their condition was most miserable. Franklin was unremitting in his labors to effect an exchange. He had at his control some few English prisoners, but for a long time he could not arrange a cartel. The reason of this seems to be that as long as France was at peace with England there was no way of securing the prisoners taken on the French coast by American cruisers. They could not be confined on shore; they were too numerous to be kept on shipboard. Hence they were generally discharged on giving their word, each that he would release one American prisoner. But these paroles were repudiated, and not unjustly, by the English authorities.

Thus Franklin could not collect any considerable number of English prisoners, and no exchange could be effected. After France declared for America the English became more willing to make the exchange, for the Englishmen captured by the American cruisers were put into French prisons. A cartel was finally brought about and a number of the prisoners were exchanged.

The *Black Prince*, privateer, and her consorts, the *Black Princess* and the *Fearnot*, were fitted out in the port of Dunkirk in the spring of 1778 by the agents of the commissioners at Paris. They were commanded generally by Irishmen, and their crews were composed of English, Irish and Scotch, who were to be found in numbers floating around Dunkirk, and also with such American seamen as might be found. They were most successful, and probably paid for themselves many times over. The *Black Prince* and *Princess* are said to have taken eighty prizes in the course of a single year. The original *Black Prince* was wrecked and lost, but her owners built a new vessel which bore the old name.

But the greatest exploits of the American navy abroad were performed by John Paul Jones. Jones, as has been said, had sailed from Philadelphia in the *Ranger*. She was a ship of eighteen guns. On this vessel he displayed the Stars and Stripes for the first time that that flag had been used on shipboard. He had a short passage, in the course of which he captured two prizes, and, at once opening communications with Franklin, proposed various schemes for annoying the English shipping and ravaging the English coast. In the spring he sailed in the *Ranger* to cruise on the Scotch coast. He was foiled in his attempt to burn Lynn Haven, but on his return he met and captured the *Drake*, an English ship-of-war of twenty guns, with which he returned to Brest.

He very much desired to command the *Indian*, a frigate at that time on the stocks in Amsterdam. But this vessel, though begun for the United States, had been turned over to the French. Jones still hoped that it might be commissioned in the American service, and that he might receive the

command. He continued in this hope through the summer of 1778. The *Ranger* was sent home under Lieutenant Simpson. Jones's trials were numerous. In February, 1779, however, he succeeded in obtaining a ship, the *Duc de Duras*, which he rechristened *Le Bon Homme Richard*, in memory of "Poor Richard." He thought he owed the command to the saying, "If you would have your business done, go yourself. If not, send." The vessel belonged to the King of France, but the crew was made up of Englishmen. An expedition was planned for descent on the English coast, and four other vessels were placed under him: the American frigate, the *Alliance*, and the French vessels, the *Pallas*, the *Vengeance*, and the *Cerf*. It was proposed that Lafayette should accompany the expedition with a land force, but this part of the plan was given up. The expedition set sail the 14th of August. They cruised for some time with indifferent fortune till the 23d of September, when they came across the Baltic fleet off Scarborough, under convoy of the *Serapis*, of forty-four guns, and the *Countess of Scarborough*, of twenty-two. Jones at once engaged the *Serapis*, signalling to the *Alliance* to come to his assistance. The *Pallas* engaged the *Countess of Scarborough*. The other vessels of the squadron were not in sight. The fight between the *Bon Homme Richard* and the *Serapis* was hardly contested. The *Serapis* finally surrendered, but the *Bon Homme Richard* was so battered that she sunk two days afterward. The *Alliance*, under Captain Laudais, behaved in a most singular manner during the engagement. Laudais was accused of firing into the *Bon Homme Richard* instead of the *Serapis*. He proved to be insane, and made much trouble for Franklin at Paris.

The news of the victory over the *Serapis* was received with great delight in America and in France. Jones, who came shortly to Paris, was made a lion, and received great attention from the court and the people.

CHAPTER XXI.

The French Alliance.

Franklin Arrives in France—Silas Deane's Early Negotiations—The Treaty of Alliance—D'Estaing's Fleet—Large Combinations—Army Under Rochambeau—It Arrives at Rhode Island—The Campaign in Carolina—Lord Cornwallis—Gates's Defeat at Camden—His Flight—Events at the North—Arnold's Treason—Campaign of 1781—Cornwallis Advances to Virginia—Death of Phillips—Lafayette in Command—Clinton Recalls Cornwallis—The Combination Against Him—De Grasse's Fleet—Washington Deceives Clinton—He Moves from New York—A Day at Mount Vernon—Siege of Yorktown—Cornwallis Besieged—He Surrenders—Greene's Campaign of 1781—The News of Yorktown Received in Europe—Lord North—"All Is Over."

THE American cause had been popular in France ever since the war began. The national hatred of England contributed to a liking for her enemy, and the very severe terms, which England had exacted in the peace of 1763, still rankled in the minds of French statesmen and soldiers. The new philosophy of human nature which was coming into fashion had its part in bringing about a national enthusiasm for the insurgents. When, at the end of 1776, Franklin arrived in France, he was welcomed with enthusiasm. His portrait was seen every-where. *Poor Richard's Maxims* were translated into French, and Franklin's society was widely sought. He availed himself of his popularity to obtain such private and public help for his countrymen as was possible.

Silas Deane, who preceded him, had set on foot a secret negotiation which resulted in a gift of two million livres—about four hundred thousand dollars—privately paid from the royal treasury to the treasury of Congress. A second arrangement was made, by which the farmers general of the kingdom, who had the monopoly of the tobacco trade, were to receive from

Congress a quantity of tobacco and to pay for it in military stores. But through the year 1777 all such negotiations and promises were made with the greatest secrecy, as France was, in public, maintaining her neutrality. She even affected to exclude the American cruisers from her ports, excepting as she had to give them her hospitality when they were in absolute need of shelter for repairs.

As has been already said, however, the news of the capitulation of Burgoyne turned the scale. Franklin and his associates were at once told that the government was ready to recognize American independence, to receive them as envoys, and to negotiate a treaty. Spain, which was closely allied with France, made similar intimations. The first result of the treaty was the welcome to French ports of American prizes; the second was the equipment of the fleet under D'Estaing, of which the history of one year's cruise has been told.

As the year 1779 came to a close the American envoys begged for more extensive assistance, and ventured to show how it might end the war.

They had the invaluable help of Lafayette, who was popular at court, very popular in America, and who had crossed to France to do what he could in this cause. His enthusiasm and Franklin's steady wisdom overcame all delays, and the Count De Rochambeau, an officer of high rank, was ordered to America in command of nearly six thousand picked men. They were conveyed in a fleet under Admiral Ternay, and a second fleet was to follow them.

This superb expedition sailed in April. The seamanship of those days was not as prompt as that of to-day, and it was not until the 10th of July that the fleet arrived off the bay of Rhode Island, the men already sick with scurvy and the fleet in poor condition for battle. Lafayette had preceded them. He had agreed that if Newport were free from an English fleet there should be a white flag displayed on each of the headlands of Narragansett Bay. As the fog lifted which for a time shrouded the coast the French Admiral saw, to his delight, the promised signals, and at once entered the harbor

of Newport. He landed his men, who were welcomed by the Americans. He established barracks for them at Newport and Providence, and opened his communication with General Washington.

Washington had refrained from any active operations until his allies should arrive. Clinton was glad enough to be unmolested. Indeed, there had already begun a difference of opinion as to the English plan of campaign, which the next year resulted in ruin. Of all the English officers who held high command in America, Lord Cornwallis, afterward governor of India, showed most spirit and military genius. He had had the advantage of training in the military schools of the continent of Europe. He distinguished himself at Brooklyn and at the Brandywine, and, when he afterward returned to England to propose his plans, he was listened to, much as Burgoyne had been when he came on a not dissimilar errand.

Cornwallis was a favorite with Lord George Germaine, who was master of colonial affairs, and thus played well the part of evil genius of England. Cornwallis succeeded in obtaining what was virtually an independent command, as he construed his instructions. He was to push the English successes at the south. True, he was nominally subordinate to Sir Henry Clinton at New York, but he was permitted to communicate directly with London, and in his use of this permission he eventually entangled Clinton and compelled him to play a part second to his own.

The fall of Charleston, on the 12th of April, was the first signal of the success of the new plans of the English. The news arrived in France soon after Rochambeau sailed. "It is impossible to do anything," wrote Marie Antoinette to her mother, "when the American troops are such cowards." Lincoln, who commanded at Charleston, was obliged to surrender, and his garrison became prisoners of war.

Gates was appointed to succeed him, and hurried to take the independent command for which he had hungered since his great success at Saratoga and after the failure of the Conway cabal. Cornwallis had a well-equipped army of five thou-

sand men. Of the Continental army, Lincoln had surrendered almost all the southern contingent in the fall of Charleston. Washington detached with Gates more than two thousand men from his own force. A regiment of artillery was added at Petersburg. Virginia ordered twenty-five hundred additional soldiers, and the small force of three hundred men at Williamsburg joined the army which was to meet Cornwallis. Gates, eager to meet his enemy, marched them in midsummer toward Camden, in South Carolina, where Lord Rawdon commanded a considerable English force. Cornwallis heard of his approach, strengthened and joined Rawdon, and awaited the American army. On the 14th of August Gates approached Camden. He seems to have supposed himself at the head of seven thousand men. On that day he detached four hundred with Sumpter, a spirited southern partisan, who had four hundred more men. But, in fact, Gates had but three thousand and fifty-two men ready for duty.

With these he attacked the English lines by a night attack, which did not succeed. The next day he renewed the attack, beginning with a body of raw Virginia and North Carolina militia, who broke and fled, bearing Gates with them. From this moment he held no command. The remainder of the army, consisting largely of the Maryland and Delaware Continentals under De Kalb, maintained its ground for a long

time, and even drove back Rawdon's division. But in Gates's flight the battle was really lost.

The English force was severely reduced by the loss of five hundred of their men. The Continental loss was quite as heavy, and the discouragement of defeat and flight was added. De Kalb lived but three days. Nearly one-half of his division were killed or wounded. Soon after, Sumpter, who had the largest force of Americans left in Carolina, was surprised by Tarleton, who took two or three hundred of his party prisoners. Thus disastrous was the summer of 1780 to the American prospects in the Carolinas.

At the north it had soon been determined that, while Washington held the passes of the Hudson and watched the English in New York, the combined forces should not make any attempt at present. Extreme poverty was one reason for this inaction. The second French fleet, which, with Ternay's fleet, would outnumber the English, was expected. Until its arrival no combined effort was thought advisable. The English government, however, had succeeded in blockading it at Toulon. It never joined Ternay, and as a result of this prompt action in Europe the joint American campaign was deferred for another year.

As Washington returned to his army from an interview with Rochambeau at Hartford, in Connecticut, his unexpected arrival at West Point discovered the saddest treason of the war—the plot by which General Arnold, who commanded at West Point, proposed to deliver it to Clinton. From that time the name of Arnold has been hated by his countrymen. It may be doubted whether any American child has received the name of "Benedict"—which was his name—since this treason was discovered. Washington's party arrived at Arnold's quarters at breakfast, he himself having been delayed while he inspected some works. As they breakfasted Arnold received a note, which told him that André, the adjutant-general of the English army, with whom he had been in treasonable conversation only two days before, had been arrested, and was then in the hands of one of his officers. Arnold had

not a moment to lose. He ordered his barge, and by fluttering a flag of truce was received on the English frigate *Vulture*, which lay below his lines. Washington arrived just too late to intercept his flight.

André was tried by court-martial and was justly sentenced to be hanged as a spy. His talent for war and for literature has awakened sympathy for him wherever his story has been known. But civilized war is impossible if such offenses as his are not to be expiated; and a close study of his negotiations with Arnold and his correspondence afterward does not leave to him the character either of a martyr or a hero—or even a gentleman.

"Whom can we trust now?" said Washington, sadly; for he had, it might be said, singled out Arnold for preferment, by way of recompensing him for affronts he had received from Congress. He sent to Newport and recalled Heath, who had been sent there to confer with Rochambeau, and he put the fortress in Heath's charge.

Cornwallis, meanwhile, had had the tact and skill to put his army into light marching order. He had caught the lesson of the long distances of America, as the American commanders had learned it generations before. Cornwallis, with the English officers, and, on the other side, the French officers of Rochambeau's contingent, introduced into European warfare the new tactics of light infantry. And, in this generation, these words are almost the only memorial to military men that there ever was a "Heavy Infantry" in the military establishments. Banastre Tarleton, a spirited cavalry officer, who did not escape the reputation of cruelty, was Cornwallis's second. As the English army gained ground he stripped the stables of the southern planters, so that it was literally true, as Cornwallis said in one of his letters, that he went about stealing tobacco with an army on race-horses.

After he had crushed Gates the way to Virginia seemed tempting, and was open. He was himself convinced that the true policy for the English was to abandon New York and make a strong position in Virginia. Without giving Sir Henry

Clinton any fair notion of his plan, and acting merely under his general instructions from England, he determined on what he called "solid operations in Virginia," taking it for granted that if he established a foot-hold in that State Clinton would meet him there, or would largely re-enforce him. Leaving the American army under Greene on his left, he pushed for Norfolk and effected a junction, as he had proposed, with the corps under Phillips and Arnold, which had just landed there for a raid. Phillips died just at this time, on the 13th of May, at Petersburg. As he lay dying a shot from one of Lafayette's cannon passed through the house. "Can I not die in peace?" he said. It was a matter of curious interest to Lafayette that his father had died from a shot directed by a battery under the command of Phillips, at the battle of Minden.

Cornwallis assumed the command of the united English force, which was now much larger than the Americans could collect. Arnold did not remain with him personally, but retired to New York. Cornwallis crossed the James River, near the junction with the Appomatox, and sought to engage Lafayette. Lafayette was on his first considerable independent command. He had replaced Steuben, whose more slow or solid ways had dissatisfied the Virginians. But Lafayette always made himself popular, and he had brought with him a body of light troops who were the flower of the army. He showed great intelligence and spirit. He gave Cornwallis no opportunity to engage him, but did what he could, with so small a force, to encourage the country and to assist the planters in removing horses and other property before the spoilers came. It was of this summer campaign that Cornwallis wrote home that he marched up and down stealing tobacco.

Meanwhile he was eagerly awaiting Clinton's arrival, with the prospect it gave for what he called "solid operations" in Virginia. He seems to have even hoped that Clinton would march in force from New York across the country, though such a march must have been made either in face of Washington

and Rochambeau, or pursued by them. Sir Henry Clinton was, naturally enough, offended by such high-handed insubordination. He would lend himself to no such scheme. And at Hanover Court House, about thirty miles north of James River, Cornwallis received Clinton's positive orders not to risk a march across Pennsylvania, nor to expect him to make such a march, but to establish a post on the lower Chesapeake and await orders. Offended and hurt, Cornwallis obeyed these orders and retired before Lafayette to York River.

Lafayette's force was inferior, but he pushed Cornwallis, where he could, with spirit and courage. He wrote to Washington that if he could join him with a re-enforcement, and if a French fleet could blockade the Chesapeake, every thing might be hoped. Washington needed no such quickening. He had written the most urgent personal letter to whoever might be in command of that fleet in the West Indies. Fortunately the letter reached De Grasse in time, and he at once obeyed the summons. The great game of war has seldom seen the union of the important pieces take place with more precision. Cornwallis reached Yorktown and began to fortify himself on the 8th of August. Lafayette followed him closely. The French fleet arrived in the Chesapeake and hemmed in Cornwallis and the English vessels there. Cornwallis wrote to Clinton some letters which were intercepted, and others which went through. In all of them he fixed a period, not far distant, as the latest to which he could hold the post if he were not relieved. Washington saw, to his joy, that the great combination was now possible for which he had so earnestly hoped when he wrote to the French admiral.

The army of Rochambeau had recovered from the voyage which had so disabled it, and had been moved from Narragansett Bay to the Hudson River. Strong reconnoissances threatening New York, so strong sometimes as to bring on skirmishes, had been made, which had kept the English garrison and that of outlying posts on the alert. Really intending to push his way into New York with the strong com-

bined force under his command, if any opportunity offered, it was easy for Washington to give Clinton the fear that measures were in progress for such an attack. In truth, he was threatening the city all through the summer. When, on the 19th of August, he received news that Cornwallis had taken position at York River, he was able to deceive Clinton for many days as to his purposes in that direction.

A large French and American contingent was rapidly moved southward on the roads back from observation, while close observation was maintained on the city. Washington himself and his army had crossed the Delaware before Clinton knew that he had at all re-enforced Lafayette. Washington, with his staff, traveled a little in advance of the French commander. When he arrived at Chester he met with the great news that the French fleet under the Count de Grasse had arrived in the lower Chesapeake. He returned on his road that he might tell this himself to Rochambeau. Rochambeau saw him waving his hat and showing the greatest delight. "A child who has just received every thing he longs for would not have felt more enthusiasm. He was content for the moment to be a citizen, happy in the good fortune of his country." Such are the words of a French officer who witnessed the scene.

Fifteen hundred men were carried down Chesapeake Bay in boats to the mouth of the James River. The rest went to Annapolis by the aid of the French frigates, and then marched overland. Washington himself on this journey made his first visit to Mount Vernon since the war began. It was more than six years since he had seen his princely home. He was able to entertain the French general and his staff with the hasty hospitality of a single day. He and Rochambeau had ridden sixty miles in the saddle in one day. He then resumed the critical march with his friends, and by the same roads on which he had ridden every year for fifteen years, when he served in the Virginia Assembly, he took them to Williamsburg to the command of his and their armies.

Lafayette had already welcomed Saint-Simon, who was

in charge of the first French contingent. On the arrival of a force utterly superior to his own Cornwallis risked nothing more in the field but withdrew behind the fortifications which he had built to defend Yorktown. The American and French generals immediately examined the ground and laid out the works by which it might be regularly approached. The American army, thus far trained to what have been called skirmishes on a large scale, was to see the progress of a regular siege, conducted with all the system of scientific and technical war.

The allied army surrounded the town on the 30th of September. The French held the right of the besiegers' position, the Americans the left. Cornwallis availed himself of every opportunity of annoying the men at work, but fire was not opened on him till the 9th of October. For four days the fire was incessant; his batteries were, one by one, made useless and his cannon dismounted. On the 15th he wrote to Clinton that he could not recommend any great risk to army or fleet in coming to his relief. On the night of the 16th he attempted to cross the York River, hoping to surprise the French force at Gloucester, on the north side, and escape into the upper country of Virginia. But a violent storm deranged the crossing and made it impossible. This failure compelled him to offer surrender on the 17th. The terms of capitulation were agreed upon on the 19th, and the whole army surrendered as prisoners of war.

Cornwallis had left the Carolinas for "solid operations in Virginia" almost as if indifferent to Greene, who was opposed to him. Greene wisely left him to his fate in Virginia while he attempted the recovery of the posts held by the English at the south. In this endeavor he spent the spring and summer of 1781. "We fight, get beaten, and fight again," he said. His defeats differed from Gates's, at Camden, in this: that he did not himself run away after them. When Cornwallis moved north,* he left Greene on his left. Charles

* The movement has been compared in later times to Sherman's advance into Georgia in 1865, leaving Hood behind him in Tennessee.

James Fox said rightly, in Parliament, that if the English army had been vanquished it would have retired to the sea exactly as it did after a victory. The English still held garrisons at Augusta, in Georgia; at Camden, in South Carolina; and at the post called Ninety-six, about forty miles north of Augusta, on the Saluda River. When Greene was encamped at Hobkirk's Hill, not far from the old battle ground of Camden, he was attacked by Lord Rawdon. Each party lost about three hundred men, and Greene was forced to retreat General Marion, however, with a re-enforcement from Greene's army, took the English fort on the Santee, below Camden, and that post was, in consequence, abandoned by Rawdon. Marion followed up his success and attacked and took Fort Granby with three hundred and fifty men. Lord Rawdon was thus compelled to withdraw to Charleston, leaving garrisons at Ninety-six and at Augusta. Greene besieged Ninety-six; but Rawdon, re-enforced, marched to its relief, and Greene, after an unsuccessful attempt to storm the place, was obliged to withdraw. Rawdon could not, however, hold a post so far from his base. He withdrew the garrison and their loyalist friends. He himself soon after sailed for England. He was captured by a French frigate, and thus had an opportunity of seeing the surrender at Yorktown of his old chief, Cornwallis.

Greene, after recruiting his army, attacked the English again at Eutaw, on the 8th of September, and this time successfully. They broke and fled before him. But in their retreat a party of them held as a fortress a large brick house, where they covered the flight of their friends. In the effort to drive them from this fastness, Greene lost a large number of men, among them Colonel Washington, the spirited cavalry officer who had on the American side rivaled the feats of the English Tarleton. The American loss in this hard-fought battle was five hundred and fifty-four. The English lost more than a thousand men. The result of the battle was that the remainder of the English army was withdrawn into Charleston. Whether beaten or defeated Greene always

attained his object. And when Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown, Charleston was the only post in South Carolina held by his enemy.

Cornwallis had tried to notify Clinton that his case was hopeless, but Clinton did not fail his insubordinate general when the issue came. He sent him message after message to assure him of his support. Hardest task of all, he drove up the English admirals to all possible speed in preparing a naval force which might possibly open the way into the Chesapeake. He embarked five thousand men, going with them himself. On board the fleet, as an officer of the navy, they had William, afterward King of England, the third son of George III. In this "untoward" beginning he was to take his first lesson in the trade of "kingcraft." When, at last, the admiral would put to sea, they sailed; but they were too late. Off Cape Charles they met the news of the surrender, and Clinton returned to New York.

The French admiral at once fitted out a fast frigate to take the joyful news to France. She had a quick run, and on the 20th of November it was announced in Paris, and from Paris in every part of Europe. It came from Paris to London on the 24th. "How did Lord North take it?" This was the question which some one put to Lord George Germaine. "As he would have taken a cannon ball in his heart," said Lord George. "He threw up his hands and cried 'All is over.'"

All was over; though at the time all men did not understand this. Conway introduced in Parliament a resolution, which passed by a majority of nineteen, that they who advised a continuation of war with America were enemies of their country. Lord North and his cabinet resigned. Lord George Germaine had been sacrificed before—the evil genius of George III and of England. Lord Shelburne came into power at the head of the new ministry. He was an old friend of Franklin's, and through their mutual friends they had kept up some communication after Franklin went to

France. With Franklin he entered into personal correspondence at once, and the negotiation of a treaty began on the basis of the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States.

As a miserable offset to the great success by which the war was really ended, Sir Henry Clinton was able to send home the account of a marauding expedition on the coast of Connecticut. If any thing could add to Arnold's disgrace it was his willingness to take command of an enterprise which aimed at his old home in New London. He even made use of his local knowledge of the place to direct the troops which were sent to destroy it. It is said that Cornwallis refused to have him under his command in Virginia, and that he returned from the Virginia expedition of the spring because Cornwallis compelled him to do so. This was in May. At the beginning of September he was put in command of seventeen hundred men, for an expedition against Connecticut. It has been suggested, and is perhaps probable, that Clinton thought that such an expedition might recall Washington from his march, which was already begun. Arnold landed at the mouth of the Thames River, where it flows into Long Island Sound, on the 6th of September. He divided his force into two columns, and one column marched up each side of the river. Arnold commanded that on the west side. No efficient resistance was made to him and he took and burned the town of New London. On the eastern side the militia of the immediate neighborhood had gathered, but had not nearly force enough even to man the parapets of Fort Griswold, an earthwork which had been erected for defense. Mad with liquor, the assailants, numbering nearly seven hundred men, poured over the earthworks, and, as resistance was useless, Ledyard, the American commander, ordered his men to throw down their arms. He surrendered to Major Bromfield, the English commanding officer, after Eyre, the colonel, had been wounded. The officer at once stabbed him with his own sword, and this seems to have been the signal for a massacre of the whole of

the garrison. Eighty-seven were killed and thirty were wounded. Of these only three had been killed before Ledyard gave the order to surrender.

Arnold said that the burning of the town was an accident. As has been remarked, however, it was a consistent accident; for Groton, on the other side of the river, was burned also. After this success he withdrew with his force to New York.

CHAPTER XXII.

End of the War.

Undecided Position of the Country—Weakness of the Confederation—Condition and Defects of Congress—Articles of Confederation—The Finances of the Confederacy—Paper Money—The Word "Continental"—First and Second Issues of Bills—Virtually a Tax on the User—Issues in 1779—The Currency Loses All Value—Injustice to the Soldiers—Their Dissatisfaction—The Newburg Letters—Washington's Reply to Them—End of the Crisis—The English Evacuate New York—Washington Resigns his Commission.

THE United States, after their victory, were in a disagreeable position. They were not at peace. They were not at war. Clinton would not send word to Washington that he might send his army home. Washington did not dare say to the King of France that he might call his soldiers home. On the other hand, the different States were very unwilling to send their regiments to a distance to a war which was never to be fought. The people were slow about paying taxes, as if the war was ended. Yet commerce was interrupted. Prizes were taken at sea. The fisheries were no more open to American crews than they had been in the severest moments of the war.

It was thus that some of the severest strains of the whole contest came in those years of half peace. The weakness of the Confederation became more apparent, as it was no longer concealed behind the smoke and the success of battle. In truth, its power had never been any thing but the reflex of an excited and unanimous public opinion. When there was no active enemy's army as the object for opposition the excitement which had quickened unanimity died. Each State fell back to the not easy problem of improving its now shattered fortunes.

The Congress itself was surprised, in the beginning, when it became an executive body. It had not been chosen for any such purpose. Never was success more marvelous than it had gained—considering its utter inability, in theory, for the task it had in hand.

Forty or fifty gentlemen, mostly strangers to each other, and with no common system of law or administration behind them, had been chosen to unite in fit remonstrances to a king to whom they all owed allegiance. These gentlemen found themselves of a sudden making war against him, declaring the independence of the nation, and, though with no authority directly given by that nation, raising an army and a navy, commissioning officers, sending out envoys and making alliances with other nations. Never was a more complete illustration of the way in which a government is made because there must be a government. After two or three years, because the Congress saw that on paper it had no power, by gradual approach and after difficult and critical negotiation the "Articles of Confederation," as they are called, were agreed upon.

It may be fairly said that they did more harm than good. They were framed on the theory which should leave every State virtually independent. While Congress could vote that each State should supply this and that necessary contingent for the national service, Congress had no power to carry out its vote or to enforce any demand. The original Congress had borrowed money, first in small sums, and had pledged the honor of the nation in payment. Really, under the Articles of the Confederation the Congress could pledge nothing more. It has been truly said that it could not command the money to buy the quills which made the pens with which its laws were written.

On March 1, 1781, after long delays, the Articles of Confederation nominally went into effect. The public creditors, especially the soldiers of the army, imagined, perhaps, that they now had a real authority to deal with instead of the shadow of a name; but in fact Congress had almost no treasury and could command no money.

Its financial resources up to this time had been of two forms, both resting on the fascinating but unsubstantial basis of debt. Beginning with an innocent little loan of $25,000, Congress had borrowed more and more wherever it could find a lender. Franklin, John Adams and the commissioners in Europe had steadily kept before the knowledge of Europe an understanding of the great wealth of America, especially of the value of its public lands. From the beginning the interest on the foreign loans was generally well paid. As soon as Robert Morris directed the treasury its accounts were carefully kept.

At home, where large sums of money were not ready for borrowing, Congress also borrowed, unintentionally, by the system of paper money. So soon as the movements of armies brought the colonies into closer relations with each other, while the downfall of legitimate commerce withdrew gold and silver from its operations, there was real need of a convenient circulating medium. Congress issued its own currency, which took the name, which it has since retained, of the "Continental Currency." It is a pity that the most frequent use at the present time of the word "Continental" should be its familiar use as the name of a piece of worthless paper money. In the beginning it was not so. "Continental" then stood for all things national—the army, the foreign treaties, the uniform of the troops—and, therefore, it was the name of the national currency.

After more than a century the people of the United States, with a vast territorial extension, supporting a population not more dense than that of the sea-board in the Revolution, with enormous demands for trade not then known, keeps in circulation for its convenience about eight hundred millions of paper money; nearly fifteen dollars for each individual. The people can have gold or silver for this money, but it prefers to use this amount of paper. It is not, then, surprising that in 1775, when the first issue of Continental paper began, the country with a population of three millions easily floated a million dollars, and afterward a second million, without any per-

ceptible depreciation. In the midst of other changes, with the help of strong patriotic excitement, the sum of $2,000,000 was so convenient an addition to the commercial resources of a nation which had every thing to do that the paper maintained a value even with that of silver.

Here is a temptation such as statesmen have not always met well, and which monarchs less pressed than the "Continental Congress" have not resisted. When, in another year, Congress needed more money, it was convenient to rely on the printing-press, "its unsubsidized ally," to furnish it. New issues were ordered. Of course, as more money was made than commerce really needed, the price of money fell. What was worse, the English government issued counterfeits of it, and it was found necessary to recall the issue and substitute notes of another pattern. The whole issue, old and new, was worth no more than the old issue was worth before the new was added.

But what was important to Congress was that they and their treasurer and their paymasters held the new issue till they had paid it out. The losers were not the people who made the money, but the people who had taken it. A man found on the 1st of June that the dollar which had been worth six shillings on the 1st of May, was only worth five shillings. He was the loser, but Congress lost nothing.

Virtually this man, without meaning it, or even knowing it, paid a tax of one shilling to Congress as that month of May passed. Congress was richer and he was poorer by that sum.

Repeating this process, Congress continued issuing paper money, always promising to pay "hard dollars," until before the end of 1779 it had issued two hundred millions in paper. At this time one hundred paper dollars were worth only two and a half dollars in silver. It is interesting to observe that the circulation which the country needed was about five million dollars, or one and a half dollars for each inhabitant. The process could be carried no farther. It was fatal to honest trade. Men paid debts by giving half or one quarter of what they had borrowed. It was demoralizing; for the na-

tion declared, on every bill, that it would do what it was wholly impossible for it to do. Necessity, after the very first, was the only excuse; but as Congress had no power to tax men it had the tyrant's plea of necessity when, in this indirect way, it raised for the national defense a very considerable sum by what was virtually a tax, though hardly supposed to be so.

The goose was at last killed which laid the golden egg. The last issues of the Continental currency now exist in the large sheets in which they were printed. It was not even worth the while of the man who received the sheet from the treasury to cut it into separate bills. It was one large bill to circulate for what it would bring. Before the year 1782 a specie currency was largely in use, with some paper circulated by the States and of use in the payment of State taxes. The payment of gold by the French commissaries for the supplies they required gave some assistance in furnishing a currency, and every suucessful adventure by a privateer, or every shipment of tobacco to Europe which slipped through the enemy's cruisers, relieved, by so much, the drain on the country for specie, which began, of course, when the natural currents of trade were disturbed by the war.

In no quarter was the depreciation of the currency, whether of the nation or of a State, more disastrous than with the soldiers of the army. These men were now enlisted for three years, or to the end of the war. They were not largely paid, though some of them had received considerable bounties at the beginning. To be paid year by year in a currency which, as all men knew, was losing in value every day, was an insult. But in most instances the treasurers of the States, or the treasury of Congress, had nothing better than such paper to offer.

With the beginning of the summer of 1783 it was certain that no military measures of an aggressive character would be attempted. The Continental army was reduced to the lowest scale, and for that year the country had in service only 13,456 men. The largest Continental force ever upon the rolls

was 46,891, in 1776. In that year 42,000 militia were called out also. The army held, in 1783, the garrisons which had been established. Its principal force was still above New York. If it were ever to make a claim for reasonable justice upon the Congress whom it had so faithfully served now was the time. It is clear enough that, in the enforced leisure of such a summer, there would be constant difficulties among the officers and men as to what Congress had done, might do, ought to do, and might be made to do.

Such discussions reached a crisis and found expression which attracted public notice in some letters circulated among the officers, which were at the time anonymous. But little secrecy, however, was kept regarding them, and perhaps little was intended. General Armstrong, an aid of General Gates, afterward readily acknowledged the authorship of the most important. They were well written, and expressed with little or no exaggeration the history of the treatment which the army had received from Congress. Indeed, it would be hard to express this too severely if the truth were told. The overt act which the "Newburg Letters," as they were called, suggested, was that the army should refuse to disband unless its rightful dues were paid. Congress was to be notified that this army continued to exist, and could continue to exist, with arms in its hands. It had the power until it disbanded. Let it refuse to disband and it could obtain its due. Such was the writer's proposal. He suggested a meeting on the 11th of March.

There is much in the Newburg letters which appeals to the sense of justice. It is easy to understand that this should appeal very loudly to men who felt that they had been disregarded and annoyed.

This was the moment when, if the army acted on the lesson taught by its insults and wrongs, it would take for newborn America the position which Cromwell's army took for England, and its leader, whoever he might be, would be the General Monk who should determine on the next dynasty. To take a name from ancient history, the leader of this army

might make himself a Cæsar. To take it from modern history, he might make himself a Napoleon.

And the man was there; but his name was not Cromwell, Monk, Cæsar or Napoleon. His name was Washington.

So soon as the first of the Newburg letters was issued Washington referred to it in general orders, in terms which seemed strong enough for the emergency. He certainly did not mean to exaggerate its importance. He asked the representatives of the army to meet him on the 15th of the month instead of holding a meeting on the 11th, as had been proposed. Armstrong and his friends, however, seized on the moderation of these terms to affect the impression in a second letter that he was on their side. If he had meant more he would have said more, they say with sufficient ingenuity. In this last letter they assented to his proposal for a meeting, and their meeting was abandoned.

When the meeting took place Washington opened it himself in a spirited speech. He asked if the anonymous writer of the letters was not an emissary from New York, attempting the ruin of the country. He urged patience, begged the officers to rely on the justice of Congress and to give one more proof of patriotism and virtue. He pledged his own exertions in their behalf, and then retired. Gates took the chair. If, as is likely enough, he had countenanced the anonymous letters, he had the gratification of putting to the vote of the meeting the resolutions which passed. They stated the grievances of the army, but rejected with disdain the proposal of the letters and avowed the confidence of the officers in Congress. The crisis was over. A committee was appointed to wait upon Congress with a fit statement of grievances. But these grievances were not formulated as demands. The crisis was over.

This great service was the last which Washington rendered to his country as commander-in-chief. He was now to lay down the charge which he had so willingly taken on the 17th of June, more than eight years before. The ratification of the treaty was at last completed in Europe. A courteous note

from Sir Guy Carleton, the English commander, notified Washington that the English garrison would be withdrawn from New York on the 25th of November. As post after post of English soldiers was withdrawn successively, an advance party of Americans took their places. Washington sent to Carleton a courteous note to wish him and his a pleasant passage, and thus closed the correspondence with the enemy, which had begun when he proposed an exchange of prisoners with Gage, and Gage had written an impertinent letter back to him, refusing to communicate with traitors. In the interval the chief command of the English army had changed three times. The American army had had but one chief commander.

A few days after the American troops had taken possession of New York Washington himself bade farewell to the officers and army in an affecting parting and began his journey to his home. It was a triumphal march. The country was eager to express its joy for peace and independence, and found this a fit occasion.

As he entered a town or city the chief magistrates met him with an address of thanks and welcome. Such scientific or literary societies as existed, and the representatives of religious bodies or of colleges, joined in the general expression of gratitude. These addresses had more than a passing interest. They show how the national feeling had extended, since the time, hardly ten years before, when the divided colonies first sent their delegates to a national Congress. Washington acknowledged their addresses with modesty and dignity. Copies of them, preserved by his care, are now in the Department of State.

The Continental Congress, from whose predecessors Washington had received his commission, was sitting at Annapolis, the capital of Maryland. As this body, which had created an army and a navy, ceased to have such large visible duties, it sank every day more and more in the contempt of the people at large. It became migratory, and had left Philadelphia on the occasion of some turbulent political public demonstra-

tions. To Washington, Annapolis was almost home. In his earlier days it had been his custom to go there with his wife every year from Mount Vernon, which is not far away, to join in the gayeties which accompanied the annual meeting of the Assembly. Here, in the Assembly chamber, Congress met to receive his commission back from the hands which had held it so triumphantly. He had assumed it with the expression of his full knowledge that he was incompetent for the charge to which it appointed him. He resigned it with cordial thanks to the brave and steadfast men who had given him success in his charge, and with gratitude to the Providence which from such slight beginnings had created a nation.

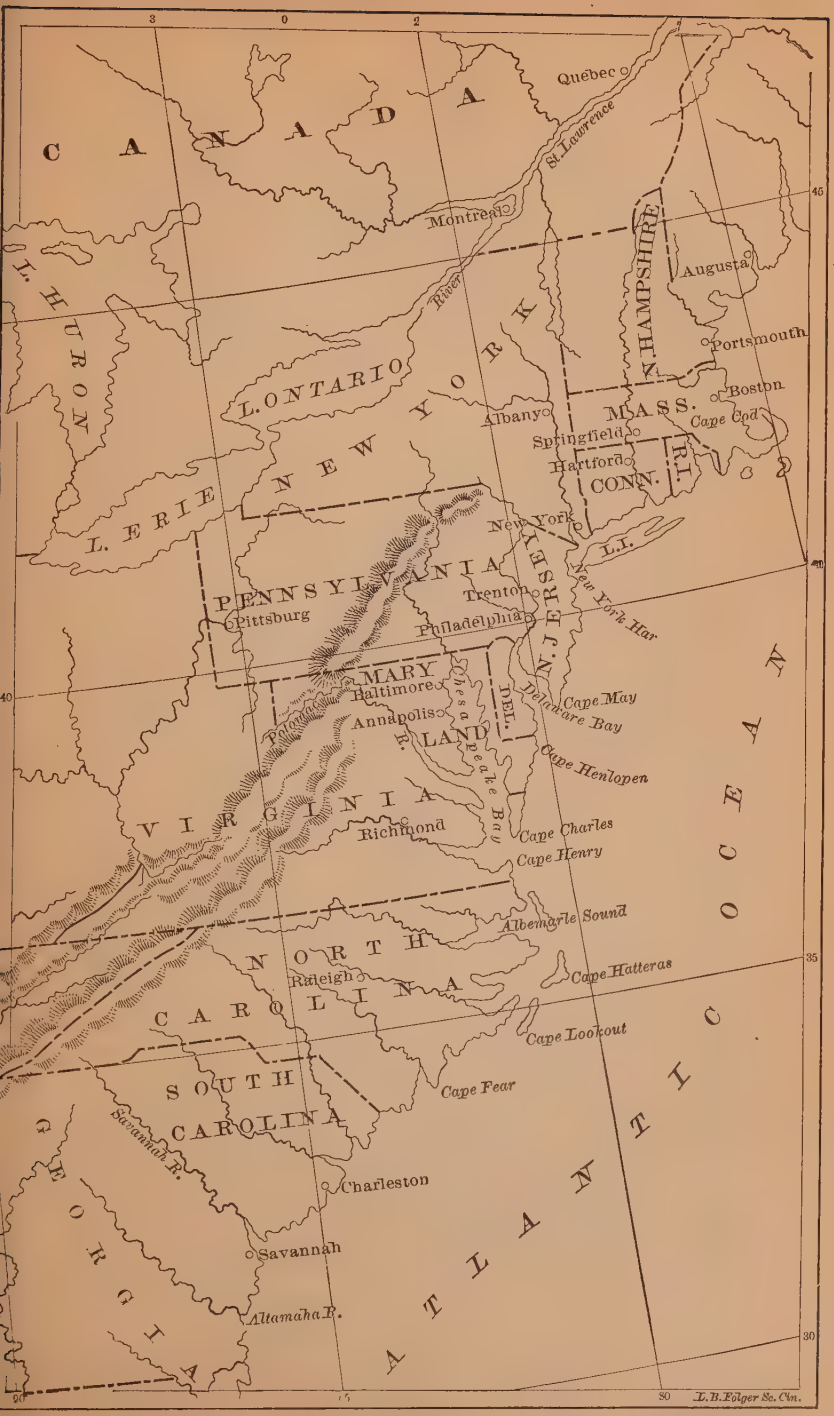
It will be necessary in the next chapter to follow the history of the great region to the west. The first steps of that history had been taken while the sea-board colonies were engaged in war.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Settlement of the West.

French Claims—The English Conquest—Exploration in Kentucky—Christopher Gist and Daniel Boone—George Washington—First Settlement—Henderson and Transylvania—General Rogers Clarke—Vincennes—Cahokia—Kaskaskia—Indian Wars in Kentucky—The English Forts After the Revolution—Tennessee—The North-west Territory—Ohio—Indiana—Illinois—Michigan.

DRAWING a straight line along the map of the United States, from Quebec to New Orleans, one would find the original thirteen States lying almost entirely to the east of it. To the west the country had been claimed by France, by the right of discovery. La Salle had explored the Illinois country and the Louisiana country also. Marquette and Joliet had wandered over the country about the upper waters of the Mississippi. The French had thus a claim, according to the public law of the time, to the whole of that great country to the north and west of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. The English colonies, it may be noticed, also laid claim to a great part of this territory, for their charters gave them right from sea to sea. But the French had taken steps to possess the country. It was the plan of the governors of New France to link the two capitals, Quebec and New Orleans, by a chain of forts by which to hold these possessions. And there had been, before the French and Indian war, forts and settlements built on this plan at Natches, Cahokia and Kaskaskia, on the Mississippi, a fort on the Wabash, Fort Miamis on the Miami, a town at Detroit, as well as Forts Niagara, Duquesne, Toronto and Frontenac. Here is the chain of French posts by which New France, as this region was often called, was to be held.


CANADA
Québec
St. Lawrence
Montreal
L. HURON
River
L. ONTARIO
L. ERIE
NEW YORK
Albany
Springfield
Hartford
CONN.
R.I.
MASS.
Cape Cod
Boston
N. HAMPSHIRE
Portsmouth
Augusta
New York
L.I.
N. JERSEY
New York Har.
PENNSYLVANIA
Pittsburg
Trenton
Philadelphia
MARYLAND
Baltimore
Annapolis
Potomac R.
Chesapeake Bay
DEL.
Delaware Bay
Cape May
Cape Henlopen
VIRGINIA
Richmond
Cape Charles
Cape Henry
Albemarle Sound
NORTH CAROLINA
Raleigh
Cape Hatteras
Cape Lookout
Cape Fear
SOUTH CAROLINA
Savannah R.
Charleston
GEORGIA
Savannah
Altamaha R.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
45
40
35
30
3
0
2
80
L. B. Folger Sc. Cin.

All this country in the valley of the Mississippi had, by the Peace of Paris, fallen into the hands of the English. But it was not the policy of England to colonize it. It was her design to hold it by means of its Indian inhabitants. The Spaniards, whose settlements on the west of the Mississippi had come as far north as St. Louis, were not ill pleased at this policy. But the plans of English statesmen were counteracted by the irresistible tendency of the English colonists to emigrate.

The present State of Kentucky was the first region to tempt explorers. The reader will remember Spotswood, and the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe. Even in 1750 one Walker had traveled over the country, and the next year the well-known Christopher Gist, the companion of Washington, acting for the Ohio Company of Virginia, had traveled across the Alleghanies and up into Ohio, where he met George Croghan, the Indian trader; for at this time the trade with these Indians was almost entirely in the hands of the Virginians and Pennsylvanians, much to the jealousy of the French. Gist had gone out to locate a land grant, but colonization did not follow immediately. After the French and Indian war George Croghan had surveyed the country, which he thought well fitted for immediate colonization.

In 1769 Daniel Boone made his first journey through Kentucky. He was a typical frontiersman, always moving on the farthest fringe of the settlements. Well skilled in woodcraft, great with the rifle, successful in his dealings with the Indians, there have been few men in our history who more justly deserve the name of the First Pioneer. He traversed over a great part of eastern Kentucky with his brother and two companions. The two latter were killed by the Indians and the younger Boone was forced to return to the settlements for ammunition. Daniel Boone spent the winter absolutely alone with great contentment. The next summer he returned with his brother to bring their families out to the new country. The next year George Washington, floating down the Ohio river to locate land for the soldiers of the

French war, was received by the Indians with honor, and returned with good accounts of the country.

The first permanent settlement in Kentucky was made in 1774 by James Harrod, with a company who passed down the Ohio, and thence some way inland, where they founded Harrodsburg. The next year Boone built a fort, and soon others were built. To obtain titles to land was the great object of their excursions. Colonel Henderson and others, in 1775, obtained a tract of land from the Cherokees, embracing all of the present State of Kentucky east of the Kentucky river. They at once proceeded to occupy it. Daniel Boone, leading forth a party, built a fort, which was named Boonesborough. Henderson sent out a call for a congress of delegates from the settlements in the surrounding country, which met at Boonesborough and adopted the name of "Transylvania." They drew up laws for self-government among them; one for punishment of profane swearing and Sabbath-breaking, and another for the preserving the breed of horses. Daniel Boone carried the passage of a bill for the preservation of game. But this government of Transylvania did not last. The grant from the Cherokees was in truth worthless. The whole country was held at the time to belong to Virginia. It had been hitherto neglected, or considered as part of the country of Fincastle. In 1777, however, the whole of what is now the State of Kentucky was made into the county of that name. Henderson and his Transylvanians received a grant of land at the north of the Green River to quiet them for the loss of the £10,000 which they had paid for the worthless Transylvanian patent.

George Rogers Clark had been sent in 1776 to Virginia, from Harrodsburg, to see what could be acomplished in regard to the erection of a country. On his return he saw much of the country and traveled far north of the Ohio, among the French villages in Illinois. The Revolutionary War had now begun, and the old French forts throughout the northwest were held by English garrisons. Hamilton, the Governor at Detroit, had heard of the Kentucky settlements and meant

to disperse them. In 1778 Clark received a commission from Virginia to bring men for operations to the north of the Ohio. With one hundred and fifty backwoodsmen he traversed the Illinois country, taking possession of Kaskaskia and Cahokia, on the Mississippi, and Vincennes, on the Wabash, the inhabitants of which swore allegiance to the United States. Vincennes was, however, seized again by a force of Indians and regulars under Hamilton, who thought to make it the base of operations against Virginia. The next year Clark, hearing of a good opportunity, marched against him, leaving only a few men in the village at Kaskaskia. Hamilton had weakened his force by sending out war parties. Clark entered the village of Vincennes without difficulty, and the inhabitants assisted him in the reduction of the fort. Hamilton and some eighty men surrendered. Clark followed up his success by the capture of some reinforcements which were marching from Detroit. The conquered country, which came in the territory claimed by Virginia, was organized under the name of the county of Illinois. To every one of Clark's men was granted two hundred acres of land by the legislature of Virginia. Meanwhile the inhabitants of Kentucky had not been unmolested. Although the territory which they occupied had not, before their settlement, been the home of any Indian tribes, yet Indian raids from the north were frequent; all the more so when the English agents stirred the tribes up to the warpath. In 1782 Simon Girty, a famous partisan chief, crossed the Ohio with five or six hundred Indians, and attempted the surprise of Bryan's Station ; but, deceived by a noise within the fort, he came to the conclusion that his approach had been discovered, and therefore he proceeded to besiege the post rather than attempt to carry it by storm. There were only fifty men within, besides women and children. Messengers were at once sent to the various stations, whose forces only broke through the Indian lines with the utmost difficulty. The garrison of the fort managed to supply itself with water, and, by a sortie, gained an advantage over the enemy. Girty withdrew, in the hope of surprising, on

their approach, the reinforcements which it was thought would respond to the call of the messengers who had escaped; but the ambush was unsuccessful, and the reinforcement reached the fort with small loss. Girty then summoned the fort to surrender, and on its refusal withdrew. The Kentuckians at once sallied out to pursue, and, shortly afterward, coming across Girty and his band, they made a reckless attack and were cut to pieces, with the loss of one-half their number. The loss was severe, but the colonists rallied under it, and the next year, under the command of Colonel Clark, a thousand men ravaged the country north of the Ohio in such fashion that no more Indian raids were attempted for some time.

When the Revolutionary war closed, the Kentuckians naturally expected the evacuation of the western posts of the English, on the Great Lakes and elsewhere in the territory conceded to be within the United States. They were, however, disappointed in this. The English still held the posts. Steuben, who was sent to receive the surrender of the posts, was told that no orders had arrived to deliver them up. In truth, the English held these posts for some years, pending the carrying out by the United States of another article of the Treaty of Peace which remained long unexecuted—the payment to English merchants of debts contracted before the war, collection of which was obstructed by many States in ways which the Federal Government, in its then weak condition, could not prevent.

The early history of Tennessee is that of the State of "Franklin," sometimes called Frankland, and is curious and interesting: As early as 1758, before the settlement of Kentucky, the inhabitants of North Carolina had crossed the mountains and settled in the fertile region of the Cumberland River, until by 1784 there were, perhaps, ten thousand of them. In this year the State of North Carolina passed an act whereby her western lands were ceded to the United States. There were many reasons for this in the minds of the legislature, but the act aroused profound dissatisfaction in the minds of the

inhabitants of the ceded counties, which increased when Congress, at that time a long way off, as things were, did nothing at all about it. The frontiersmen were deserted. They had no government, no militia, nothing. They at once gathered together, called conventions, and elected delegates, and, meeting at Jonesborough, they made themselves into an independent State, to which they gave the name of "Franklin," and proceeded to adopt a constitution and send a petition to Congress to be admitted into the Union. They had some difficulties about these measures, and they were by no means completed when the North Carolinians changed their minds and thought they would rather keep their western lands to themselves. The legislature, therefore, repealed the act of cession, and arrangements were made for the administration of justice, and for the militia of the frontier counties. There were shortly two sets of authorities in Franklin. There were two sets of law-makers. There were two sets of judges, who greatly disturbed their respective legal proceedings. There were two sets of taxgatherers, a superfluity which rendered both impracticable. Not to be too long, the result, which could hardly be doubtful, came in 1787. The better organization of the older State prevailed, and the rude arrangements of the mountaineers fell to pieces. Sevier, the Governor of the short-lived State, was put on trial for treason. Various exciting events followed. Sevier was rescued and pardoned. He subsequently returned to his country, where he was quite as popular as ever. As for the former Franklin, North Carolina again ceded it to the United States in 1789, at which time it was organized under the name of the Territory of Tennessee. In 1779 it was admitted as a State.

Kentucky had been admitted some years earlier. In the years immediately following the close of the Revolutionary war, the desire of separation from Virginia had grown more and more general. Virginia was not disinclined to allow the young country to set up for itself, and in 1786 her General Assembly passed an act of session whereby Kentucky might be separated from Virginia provided that before the first of

June, 1787, Congress should vote her admission into the Union. This Congress by no means did; it was not so much that there was opposition to the admission of Kentucky, but Congress acted slowly, and the matter needed due consideration. Meanwhile the Kentuckians grew impatient and turned their attention in another direction, as will be seen in another chapter. They had to look west and south as well as east and north.

In 1791 Congress finally passed an act whereby Kentucky became a State. There was no opposition in Kentucky to the arrangement. All the Spanish intrigues had probably been merely either a last resort of men who would have preferred to become a part of the United States, or schemes of uninfluential adventurers.

North of the Ohio, the territory east of the Mississippi was known under the general name of the North-west Territory. The right to it under the old charters was utterly confused. Massachusetts, as the reader knows, had a claim to the South Sea, as wide, at least, as the longer part of Massachusetts is to-day; Virginia had a similar claim; and hardly less than hers was the claim of New York and that of Connecticut. All these, however, had been ceded to the United States by acts of patriotism and self-devotion on the parts of the States which held them.

When the Revolutionary War was at an end, and the attention of the nation could be turned to this region, a great impulse for emigration across the Alleghanies set in. Although the State of Kentucky had been by this time so thickly populated that it was seeking admission to the Union, the rich and fertile country between the Ohio and the Great Lakes was still unsettled. Congress was busy with schemes for its government, but it had not yet been settled. There were some few garrisoned forts in the country. Near the old French Fort Venango, on French Creek, was Fort Franklin. Fort Vincennes was on the Wabash. Fort Steuben was near the Ohio River, opposite the present site of Louisville. There were not a few settlers on the banks of the Ohio, but the interior was still unoccupied by white men.

In 1785 Benjamin Tupper returned to New England from a surveying trip in the Ohio with his mind full of the splendid country which he had seen. Conferring with his friend Rufus Putnam, the two put before the public the scheme of the Ohio Company. In the early part of 1786 a notice appeared in certain of the Massachusetts newspapers calling the attention of old soldiers of the war, and such others as might be able to profit by the land ordinances of Congress, to a scheme for settling the Ohio country. A meeting was called of delegates from all over the State, who adopted a plan for the raising of money for the purchase of western land and the settlement thereof. One million dollars were to be raised in thousand-dollar shares within the year. The next year, a sufficient sum being raised, the directors met to consider plans. A memorial had been presented to Congress for the purchase of lands, and now Manasseh Cutler was sent to New York to further the bargain.

Congress was by no means indisposed to accede to the desires of the company. It desired to have the western lands settled, and was particularly desirous that those lands should be settled by a hardy set of veterans, and it was also pleased at finding something to occupy the disbanded army. Yet there were difficulties in the way. But Cutler seems to have been skillful in negotiation, as he was in many other respects, and in October, 1787, the government sold five million acres of land on the Ohio. Of this, one million and a half were for the Ohio Company. The price per acre was one dollar of United States certificates, worth about twelve cents.

The company immediately set vigorously to work. The first colony was ready to start in a month. They started from Hartford, spent the winter in the neighborhood of Pittsburg, and when the river opened they set out down the stream in a flat-boat, which they named the *Mayflower*. They landed near the confluence of the Ohio and the Muskingum. In a few months they were joined by another company, under Cutler. The settlement thus made was called Marietta, in honor of the Queen of France. Shortly after this, a little

farther down the river, another settlement was made, with the eccentric name of Losantiville, which any one conversant with Latin, Greek, and French will easily understand means "the city opposite the mouth" of the Licking River. This was settled on land bought of Congress by one Symmes, with whom were interested certain others.

These were the first settlements, but they were not long the only ones. A strong tide of emigration began to flow in the direction of the Ohio country. The Ohio Company in New England sent large numbers. The private owners of tracts also sent many. In the year 1788 as many as ten thousand emigrants are said to have passed Marietta on their way down stream. But it must be remembered that the western part of New York and of Pennsylvania were at that time unsettled, and that they had to be filled up, as well as the immense tract now included in the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Even down to the close of the century, Western New York and the country of Eastern Ohio was the Far West. Emigration was continual. Some men passed along the Mohawk Valley, by way of Albany, and settled in Western New York. Others crossed the mountains to Pittsburg or Wheeling, and passed the Ohio. A line of packets was started in 1794 between Cincinnati and Pittsburg. The trip was made in vessels heavily armed, for fear of Indians. In truth, the redskins had kept the Ohio settlements pretty closely to the river. But after Wayne's expedition had struck terror among the tribes, colonization became more rapid. The population increased rapidly. In 1790 there were in the country between the Ohio and the Great Lakes about five thousand inhabitants, all told. In 1800 there were fifty-one thousand. In Kentucky the increase had also been great. The first census gave seventy-three thousand, the second three times as many.

Provision had been made by Congress in the year 1787 for the government of the public lands. There had been many plans submitted especially for this large region. One of them contemplated the erection of seventeen States out of the country to the north and west of the Ohio and east of the

Mississippi. Another suggested various names for the proposed States. Sylvania, Chersonesus, Meopotamia, Saratoga, Assenisippia, and others of like nature, would have rendered the Central States and their capitals a harder lesson for the schoolboy than it is now. The measures passed by Congress in 1787 provided for the formation of Territories by the United States and for their government. When any Territory reached sixty thousand in number it might be admitted to the Union. In 1787, by the North-west Ordinance, the whole of this country was formed into the North-west Territory, and, by a special provision, slavery was forever excluded from its limits. Ohio was named as a separate Territory in 1800, and the government or Territory of Indiana formed in the same year. In 1805 the Territory of Michigan was formed and in 1809 that of Illinois. In 1816 Indiana became a State, Illinois in 1818, and Michigan in 1836. The present State of Ohio was admitted to the Union in 1802.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Valley of the Mississippi and Texas.

Discovery of the Great West—Robert Cavalier de la Salle—Lemoyne d'Iberville—The French Possess Louisiana—Financial Schemes of John Law—Settlement of New Orleans—French and Indian Troubles—Massacre of the French by the Natchez Tribe—The French and the Choctaws defeat the Natchez—Bienville appointed Governor of New Orleans—End of French and Indian War—France deprived of her American Possessions, including Canada and Florida—Spain acquires Louisiana—Opposition to Spanish Rule by the Inhabitants—Order Finally Restored and Spanish Government Established—Importance of Navigation on the Mississippi—Objects of First Settlers—Spanish Annoyances—The Confederacy is powerless—Intrigues of Spain and England—Spanish Governors—Adams's plans—Miranda—Hamilton—Wilkinson—Napoleon's plans—Philip Nolan—Texas.

THE French were the first Europeans to discover the Great West. By their explorers was the Mississippi discovered in its upper waters, and by their explorers was it followed through the whole length of its mighty course. By the French were the first settlements planted on the great lakes and on the great rivers of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, as well as within the boundaries of all those States from north to south which border on the Mississippi.

An English writer, of the end of the seventeenth century, claims that the Mississippi was discovered by the fur-traders of Massachusetts, and that the French took their Indian guides with them in the voyage of La Salle. It is certain that La Salle's guides were from the province of Maine, and it is difficult to say why, unless he thought they knew the way better than Indians of Canadian provinces; but no record or memory of a discovery by Massachusetts men now exists in that State.

It was in the year 1673 that two French priests, Marquette and Joliet, with several companions and two Indian guides, embarked on the Wisconsin River and floated down stream toward the Mississippi. They had wandered over great parts of Michigan and Wisconsin in their missionary efforts, and now, with the assistance of the government at Quebec, they were setting forth to discover the great river which, as they supposed, would show them a short road to the Pacific Ocean. The party passed down the Wisconsin, and in a week's time reached the great river; with great joy they set their sails and took their way downward. They passed by the mouth of the Missouri and then the Ohio, and finally, having reached a point opposite the Arkansas River, they turned back and made their way home. They had satisfied themselves that the great river flowed not into the Gulf of California but into the Gulf of Mexico, and they feared that they should fall into the hands of Spainards, whereby the fruits of their expedition might be lost. Marquette died on the journey home, and was buried in Michigan, near the river which now bears his name.

The work thus begun was taken in hand by a man fit to accomplish it. Robert Cavalier de la Salle was a man who looked to the west for his fortune. In the year 1677 he set forth on an expedition which resulted in nothing more than an exploration of the Illinois country, though Father Hennepin, who started with him, affirms that he himself, with another, sailed down the Mississippi to its mouth. As a matter of fact, it is generally agreed that Hennepin sailed up the river as far as the falls of St. Anthony, where he was taken prisoner by the Sioux. But La Salle's second expedition was more successful. They made their way up the Chicago River, and so across to the Illinois and then down the Mississippi. On the 6th of April, 1682, they reached the mouths of the Mississippi. On the next day La Salle explored the south-west passage to the sea, and on the 9th he planted a column and a cross, with the arms of France displayed, and formally took possession, in the name of Louis XIV., of the whole basin of the river which

he had opened to the world. This included the country of the Mississippi and of all its tributaries from the Ohio country on the east to the lands drained by the Missouri on the west. On this discovery rested the claim of France to Louisiana, as the new province was called, and it has been practically respected to this day. It is on this claim that the United States to-day holds Louisiana, and all the country north of Texas lying between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains.

The expedition returned by the way it had come, and La Salle sailed for France to make interest for the colonization of the new region. It lay in his mind to begin at the other end, and accordingly, in 1684, with a squadron of four vessels, he sailed for the Gulf of Mexico to found a colony on the river which he had discovered. The colony was well equipped and provided for. But through the imperfect calculations of that day he passed the mouth of the Mississippi, and did not discover his error until he had gone so far beyond it that the naval officer who commanded the ships refused to return to it. The settlement was therfore made within the limits of the present State of Texas, in Matagorda Bay. Beaujeu, with the ships, sailed away and left the colony. He subsequently spread such reports in regard to it that the aid which had been promised was not sent. Left to itself, the colony fared but ill. La Salle made many expeditions to find the fatal river. Finally, things being in a deplorable state, he determined to march across the continent to Canada to obtain some assistance for his colony. He started forth with about twenty men. On the way quarrels arose among his followers. La Salle himself was shot down and killed, and the expedition was broken up. Some of them found their way to the Mississippi and then to Canada. But what became of the colony is unknown. It was fifteen years before another attempt was made. The only French settlement was a cottage at the mouth of the Arkansas.

After the peace of Ryswick, Lemoyne d'Iberville, a Canadian nobleman in the French naval service, received the charge of an expedition planned by Louis XIV. to colonize the new

province. Before they reached America, Spain had already settled at Pensacola, which thus became part of Florida. But d'Iberville, with his brother, known as Bienville, sailed on farther, and made a settlement on the island of Biloxi, in Mobile Bay, in the year 1699. Shortly after, a second post was settled on the Mississippi, some thirty or forty miles below the site of New Orleans. There was permanent possession taken by France of the Territory of Louisiana.

The claims of the English to the region were disputed, and France and Spain being at that time in alliance against the rest of Europe, the French in Louisiana were assisted upon occasion by the Spaniards in Mexico and Florida. They opened communication with Canada, and are said to have brought copper from the Lake Superior region. The brothers d'Iberville and Bienville exercised the chief power in the little settlement, which for the first fifteen years, probably, had never more than five hundred inhabitants, white and black, soldiers and all. With the end of the war of the Spanish Succession more interest was taken by France in her new colony; but little came from it more than the appointment of officers who quarreled with Bienville. He inherited the influence of his brother who had died some years before. But in 1707, the colony being made over to the "Western Company," under John Law, Bienville was himself made governor-general of Louisiana.

John Law, the son of a rich goldsmith of Edinburgh, was well advanced in life when, in 1716, he proposed his financial schemes to the Regent d'Orleans, who was now in power after the death of Louis XIV. Law had received a good education, learned a good deal of gambling, killed a man in a duel, and had escaped his country, when, about 1698, he found himself in Amsterdam, where he employed his time in the study of banking. Here he conceived certain financial theories which he successively propounded in Scotland, France, Italy, and Germany, but without any success. But in 1716, as we have said, he propounded his plans in France again, and this time with success. He was allowed to establish a private bank

to discount notes and issue notes redeemable in coin. He proved successful, and was allowed to enlarge his operations. The notes were made legal tender, and were a great convenience to the nation at that time, at the last gasp, as far as public credit was concerned—such was its suffering from the extravagant reign of Louis XIV. One feature in Law's scheme was the management of monopolies. He now became the successor to Crozat, to whom the monopoly of the Mississippi trade had been granted. Law was allowed to form a company which should have a monopoly of the beaver trade of Canada and the whole commerce of Louisiana. A company was at once formed, which issued more bonds, and the work of colonization was pressed with much vigor and expense but with little enough result. Bienville, as we have said, was appointed governor, and was bidden to find a good and suitable spot for the capital. The new town was named New Orleans, in honor of the Regent, who was the patron of the Mississippi Company. Law's schemes became more and mord popular, more and more privileges and monopolies were granted, more and more paper was issued, until finally, at the very height of speculation, the company became bankrupt without having accomplished any thing. Louisiana was restored to the king by the Mississippi Company, hardly any better off than it had been before such high hopes had been formed and so much money wasted. The city of New Orleans was hardly any thing more than a collection of tents and huts, where one or two hundred miserable creatures managed to exist. The other settlements were as badly off. Large sums of money had been lavished to almost no purpose. But a beginning had been made. Before the charter of the Mississippi Company had been given up the colony had entered upon its experience of Indian wars. Up the river was the tribe of Natchez Indians, among whom the French had established a trading station, the most prosperous on the river. Unlike the usual custom of the French in their dealings with the native tribes, Chopart, the commandant, was foolish enough to demand, as a plantation for him-

self, the land whereon stood the great village of the Natchez. The Indians were deeply outraged. They planned with the Choctaws, near New Orleans, to massacre all the French in the land. The respective chiefs exchanged bundles of sticks of equal number. One stick was to be burnt each day, and when all were gone the attack was to be made. One day the son of the Natchez chief, observing his father burning the stick, laid hold of the bundle and burned two of those which were left. Therefore the Natchez made the attack two days before the appointed time. Their attack was successful. Two hundred of the French were killed, and their women and children made prisoners.

Down the river, Perier, the governor of New Orleans, suspecting some mischief, had managed to put off the Choctaws for a few days, by which time news of the Natchez massacre came down the river and incensed the Choctaws, who were indignant at the breaking of the solemn treaty. Perier found little difficulty in persuading them to join him in an attack on the Natchez. On January 28, 1730, while the Natchez were sleeping off the effects of a festivity, the Choctaws broke in upon them and took away their prisoners. The French coming up shortly, the Natchez were attacked and worsted. Many were taken prisoners and sold into slavery. Many found refuge among other and distant tribes. The descendants of them live with the Creek nation to this day.

Bienville, who had returned to Europe, was again appointed governor by the king, and arrived in New Orleans a little more than a year after the Natchez affair. He, too, became involved in an Indian war, which turned out disastrously. He made demands on the Chickasaw Indians, the most warlike of the Southern tribes, and receiving an unfavorable answer, determined on an expedition against them. D'Artaquette, who commanded at Caskaskia, far up the river, was ordered to join him. The expedition failed. The two forces did not meet. D'Artaquette, urged on by his Indian allies, made an attack alone, and was defeated. He himself and almost fifty Frenchmen were captured and burned to death

Bienville's effort was also unsuccessful, but he and his force managed to escape with their lives after two unavailing attacks on the Chickasaw fort.

Bienville was succeeded by Vaudreuil, who remained in the colony eight years, after which he was transferred to Canada, where he worked not wholly in harmony with Montcalm in the "French and Indian War." Under his administration there is not much to chronicle, except the gradual increase in population, and gradual advance in cultivation of the soil and of commerce. In 1745 New Orleans had increased to a population of eight hundred male white settlers. There were about three hundred blacks and two hundred soldiers. The town was well laid out around the Place d'Armes, now known as Jackson Square, with streets running at right angles. It was surrounded by a stockade. Some few houses at this time were of brick, but the larger number were of wood. Farther up the river there were quite a number of settlers in Illinois and Missouri, and a number of blacks there as well. There were in all, counting in soldiers and negroes, perhaps six thousand inhabitants at the end of half a century of settlement.

By the Treaty of Paris, which ended the Seven Years' War, generally called the "French and Indian War" by our fathers, more changes were made in the map of America than in that of Europe. France wholly deprived herself of her American possessions. Canada was ceded to England. Under the name, Canada, were included all the French possessions to the north of the Ohio and west of the Mississippi. France had already made over Louisiana to Spain in recompense for Florida ceded by that country to England. Thus England gained possession of all the country east of the Mississippi, save a small territory east of its mouth, while Spain possessed all to the west. The cession was made known to the inhabitants by a letter from Louis XV., dated April 21, 1764. The whole colony was plunged in grief. It was felt that they had been degraded, bartered like merchandise, humiliated by "their sudden transformation into Spaniards or Englishmen

without their consent." They resolved to make petition to the king. But nothing could be done. In 1765 a letter was received from Ulloa, who had been appointed by the king of Spain to take possession of the town. But he did not himself arrive in New Orleans till March, 1765. When he did arrive he found the people resolute against him, and could accomplish nothing, and was forced to retire to the Balise. It was thought possible to make Louisiana a republic. The inhabitants sent another appeal to France. But there was no help from that quarter. It was not French policy to retain colonial property in America. In July, 1769, O'Reilly landed in the country and made his way to New Orleans. A Spanish fleet anchored before the city, and those who had been foremost in the rebellious proceedings were arrested. After two months' imprisonment they were tried and the greater number condemned. Some were imprisoned, others executed. The people were intimidated, and the government now passed quietly into the hands of the Spaniards.

By the other transfer in the Treaty of Paris, the Floridas, both east and west, passed into the hands of the English. East Florida, represented by the town of St. Augustine, had been long before settled by the Spanish, and by them held against all English and French attacks. We remember the expedition of Oglethorpe in 1740. West Florida was held by the Spanish fort at Pensacola, which had been captured by Bienville with a force from Louisiana, recaptured by the Spaniards, and once more taken by Bienville and destroyed. But the Spaniards had returned and rebuilt the town on an island in the harbor. In the Seven Years' War the declaration of war had hardly been made before an English fleet and army had seized Havana, and in the peace which ended the struggle Spain was glad to exchange both the Floridas against Havana. Thus the English possessions extended the whole length of the Atlantic seaboard of North America. England gained little else than territory in this cession, for Spain had only held Florida as a means of insuring her command of the Gulf, and there was probably a Spanish population of less

than four thousand in the whole cession. The boundary between West Florida and Louisiana was unsettled, but Governor Johnston, appointed to West Florida, proceeded at once to occupy the Forts Condé, Toulouse, Baton Rouge, and Natchez, indeed all the territory on the east bank of the Mississippi except New Orleans, and this claim was acceded to. So soon as the American Revolution broke out, Oliver Pollock, a spirited American merchant living in New Orleans, made secret arrangements with the Spanish governor by which he sent powder up the river to Pittsburg for the relief of the army of the Congress. In 1779, Spain having declared war against England, operations were at once directed by the Governor of New Orleans against all the English posts, and with much success. Manchac, Baton Rouge, and Natchez were captured at once. Mobile was taken the next year, and in 1781 a strong expedition from Havana sailed for Pensacola to co-operate with Galvez, the Spanish governor. The fort was besieged and captured. In the Treaty of 1783 the Floridas were ceded back again to Spain. By Spain they were held until 1819, when both Floridas were ceded to the United States.

The Spanish domination lasted thirty-four years. It made little impression on the people, who had hated the new government, and retained their nationality doggedly under foreign rule. The visitor to New Orleans will notice on each side of the French cathedral on Jackson Square, a large building covered with stucco. They were the Spanish government buildings. Farther along, without the boundaries of the old French town, is the Calabosa, or slaves' jail, also a Spanish building.

But although the people did not at once accommodate themselves to the Spanish rule, they did not, after the first outbreak, make any serious disturbance. Even O'Reilly, whose first proceedings were so severe, was not utterly hateful to them. He stayed but a year, and was succeeded by Unzaga.

One Spanish governor after another came and went, and

the town of New Orleans grew and prospered, and the province of Louisiana also. The soil gave them good return for their labor, and the great river was a great source of wealth, for, as time went on, and the country to the north became more and more settled, the navigation of the Mississippi became of more and more importance, and the power which controlled it, as Spain did by the city of New Orleans, could prescribe what conditions she pleased.

As time went on, and Kentucky and Tennessee became more and more thickly settled, and as the tide of emigration began to flow over the north-west territory, the navigation of the Mississippi became more and more a matter of vital importance. To New England, a seafaring country, the Newfoundland fisheries seemed of more account, and the other States to the east of the Alleghanies, having each their own affairs, could not feel the importance of the Mississippi question as keenly as did the frontiersmen. Therefore, when the free navigation of the Mississippi became a question for negotiation with Spain after the conclusion of peace with England, the western settlers looked with jealousy at the delays in negotiation, and turned their eyes to the Spanish provinces down the river. They had come for fertile lands, in the thought of making for themselves productive farms and happy homes. As they gained these farms and homes, and produced, by their prosperous work, crops which they wished to sell, their outlet to the world of commerce became important to them. Furs, wheat, Indian corn or tobacco could not be hauled across the mountains. If such products were to be sold, they must go down the great rivers of Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee to the Mississippi and so find the purchasers of the world.

So long as the alliance existed between the insurgent colonies, France and Spain, all had been harmony. One and another expedition against the English were fitted out, with the Spanish assistance, while the war lasted.

But with the return of peace the Spanish authorities asserted the advantage which their position gave them. The

new settlers of the territory on the Ohio built ships from the pine timber which they found there, and sent them, ready for sea, down the Mississippi. But when they arrived in New Orleans they could not pass if the Spanish governor refused permission. On the southern side of the Ohio the planters already raised tobacco, which would have been in large demand in Europe. But this tobacco could not pass New Orleans without paying tribute to the Spanish authorities, if, indeed, they did not confiscate it, or insist on purchasing it at their own price, on account of the King of Spain.

Half Eastern Europe assents to-day to such an arrangement, by which the Sultan of Turkey may do as he chooses with the goods or the ships which seek the ocean from the Danube or the Don, two of the largest rivers of Europe. But, from the first, such a claim on the part of Spain was disgusting to the settlers in the valley of the Mississippi. From the first moment of the peace, for twenty years of doubtful confusion, these settlers had to face the question how they should solve so great a difficulty.

The government established by the old Confederacy was powerless to help them. The stronger administration of Washington saw the difficulty, and attempted to meet it with some success. But the King of Spain and his ministers understood very well that they held the lion's position ; and at best, Spanish diplomacy is always slow. The settlers saw little prospect of help by peaceful means. On the other hand, agents of the King of Spain were not slow to lay before them the advantages which they would obtain if they gave up their fanciful allegiance to America, which could do nothing to help them, and become rather the favored subjects of the king who owned half the world, and who, in this affair, controlled their access to the whole of it.

On the other side, these frontiersmen were approached by other tempters. Sir Guy Carleton, whom we saw last as he bade good-bye to Washington at New York, was now, as Lord Dorchester, the English Governor of Canada. He was an active and intelligent ruler, and kept himself well informed

as to the country from which he had, very tardily, withdrawn the English garrisons. He, on his side, as the Spanish king on his, approached the influential men of the new settlements by agents who explained to them the advantages of an English connection. It was clear enough that the St. Lawrance was already under the control of King George. The chances of war might soon give to his navy the command of the mouth of the Mississippi. On his side, also, men asked the emigrants in the great valley to consider the question, of what worth was their sentimental enthusiasm for the Atlantic States, which neglected or forgot them.

Unfortunately for the American cause, for a period which covered much of the twenty years of such controversy James Wilkinson was an important representative of the Federal government. He was for many years the officer highest in command of what was called the "Legion of the West," which was that detachment of the army which held the posts west of the Alleghanies. Before this time he had been a planter in Kentucky, having gone there, as Greene had gone to Georgia, Pickering to Pennsylvania, and Knox to Maine, to seek new fortunes, at the end of the war. As early as 1787, Wilkinson had sent tobacco down the river to Orleans. Even in his early adventures there his neighbors suspected that he had received some special favors from the Spanish Government. After he commanded the American army, he was once and again tried by court-martial, under similar suspicions; but he succeeded in obtaining acquittals. Only in the last generation has an accident revealed the truth that for several years he received a regular payment from the Spanish Crown, while he affected to be a loyal American citizen.

The Spanish government meanwhile confided the absolute charge of the vast region known as Louisiana, to military officers, who were hampered by no restrictions but the orders, not always consistent, which they received from home. Their dealings with the Americans of the valley above them, were wayward, and to the last degree annoying. Sometimes

they may have had an excuse in orders from Spain; more often they seemed to have acted from panic fear of the "Yankees," as they called all the settlers, or from the mere willfulness of arbitrary power. Sudden changes in the regulations were made, for which no skill could prepare. Seizures of property, with no reasonable cause, insulted and sometimes ruined the men who had sent it. Once and again were combinations made of these hardy backwoodsmen, who had held their own against all other enemies, and who were determined to sweep the whole Spanish crew into the sea. The fortifications of Orleans were contemptible. Its garrison was small. And there can be little doubt that any raid, well led, from the American settlers above, would have succeeded. Such raids were prevented largely by the eager counsels which might have been called the petitions of the Federal government, that the settlers would wait a little longer; partly by some hope that the complications in Europe would put a new view on affairs, and partly by the terrors of the Spanish governors themselves, who would make an unexpected concession as readily as they made an unexpected demand, and sometimes bought a truce where they had themselves incurred the danger of war.

When, in 1797, the foreign relations of the country made war with France imminent, John Adams and his cabinet determined to take the occasion of such war to settle the Spanish complication also. General Miranda, who had already begun the movement which ended in the independence of the Spanish colonies on the north of South America, appeared in Philadelphia, as he had done in England, to interest the government in measures for the assistance of his insurgent compatriots. General Hamilton, who was to hold high command in the American army, conferred with him, and corresponded with Wilkinson in the West, his treachery, of course, not being then suspected. A plan was agreed upon by which a strong body of American troops should sail down the river from Cincinnati. In the enlistment of the new army several regiments of recruits were

enlisted at once in Cincinnati, and were drilled there for a war which nominally threatened France, but which in fact would have concerned Spain.

All such speculations were changed by the accession of Napoleon to power. He became the arbiter of the destinies of the valley of the Mississippi, as he afterward made himself the arbiter of the destinies of Europe. He brushed away the complications which threatened war between America and France. No one in America ventured to prepare an army for the sake of attacking Spain, and for the moment the hopes of the backwoodsmen were disappointed. The recruits at Cincinnati were dismissed, and the expedition against Orleans was abandoned.

It was in this period of uncertainty that a young Kentuckian, named Philip Nolan, obtained some knowledge of Texas. He was the first of a series of Americans who led adventure to that State, unrivaled in its climate and resources, and there he met his fate. He had been educated in Kentucky, and while yet a young man had found his way to the settlements which were opening up the American side of the Mississippi River at Natchez. He married a young lady of American family who lived opposite Natchez, in what was then Spanish territory. By one and another expedition he learned of the abundance of horses which then roamed at large in the forests of Texas; and he made a contract with the Spanish Government at Orleans, for supplying the garrison with horses. To execute this order the pass of the Spanish governor was necessary, as Texas, though under Spanish jurisdiction, was under the oversight of officers appointed from Mexico. The authorities at Orleans were appointed directly from the crown at Madrid. In this business Nolan obtained a knowledge of Texas, and he wrote to Mr. Jefferson, at his request, some information on the wild horse of the plains, and other matters of scientific interest.

If Texas had boasted the fatal gift of gold, Spain would have made much of such a province. As it had nothing but a climate well-nigh perfect, and soil well-nigh exhaustless,

Spain was indifferent to it. But once and again Spain had quarreled even with France about it, jealous of as slight an invasion, even, as the accidental settlement made by poor La Salle, when he failed to find the Mississippi.

Spain maintained a post at San Antonio, simply to keep the peaceful Indians in awe, and to discourage depredation. On the prairies and through the forests of Texas they went at their will. Different encroachments of the French had been resisted; and when, in 1765, Louisiana also had passed under Spanish rule, there were hardly seven hundred and fifty persons of Spanish blood in all Texas, with perhaps as many domiciliated Indians. Most of these were at Adaes and San Antonio; the rest were scattered at Nacogdoches, Orquisaco, and Mound Prairies. Between San Antonio and Natchez, the French settlement on the Mississippi, there sprang up a trade for mutual convenience. As both provinces, Texas and Louisiana, were under the Spanish flag, it seems absurd to call the trade in any way contrabrand or irregular. But in fact, the two provinces reported to different departments at Madrid, and the same forms were maintained as were in force when they were under two crowns.

Nolan had been engaged in this trade, so far that he knew the route from Natchez to San Antonio. He once or twice, by special permit, supplied the Spanish garrison at Orleans with horses caught in Texas. Nothing better illustrates the folly of the colonial system of Spain, than that her rulers, having horses which they needed on their own plains, should place every obstacle possible between the men who caught the horses, and the soldiers who wanted them for their cavalry and their cannon. On a similar expedition Nolan again obtained a passport, and with five Spaniards and twelve young Americans, started to catch horses, in October, 1800. Before they started, the Spanish consul at Natchez complained of infraction of neutrality, and Nolan was arrested by the United States authorities. On examination, however, he produced his passport, and was permitted to go on. Forty miles west of the Mississippi they met a Spanish patrol, but these sol-

diers let them pass. After this, though they had many interviews with Caddo and Comanche Indians, they met no Spaniards until the 22d of March, when they were surprised, at a point not far distant from the present town of Waco, by one hundred and fifty Spaniards sent out to arrest them. Their outpost was surprised in the night, and six sentinels taken. The twelve Americans were asleep, and in the morning the Spaniards wakened them by firing on the log pen in which they were. Nolan himself was killed a few minutes after. The others retreated, but on the afternoon of the same day surrendered, promising to return to their own country and cease to come into Texas.

This treaty was, however, soon broken by the Spaniards. The Americans, as the Mexicans call the men of the United States, were put in irons, and taken first to San Antonio, and then to Chihuahua. Here they remained until 1808, when, after years of correspondence, a final order was obtained from Madrid as to their fate. The order was given that every fifth man should be shot, the choice to be made by lot. There were nine left, and the order was so mercifully interpreted that but one was killed. The victim was shot in the presence of the others. Of these, five were taken to Mexico in irons.

Such was the treatment which the Spanish court measured out to men who were hunting in their own territory, with a pass from one of their own officers. It is not wonderful that Bean, the commander of these prisoners, became a patriot officer afterward in the Mexican revolution.

To complete the story of these unfortunate men we have anticipated the course of events in the country from which they were thus exiled. While they were prisoners in Texas the whole province of Louisiana had passed under the control of the United States.

The accession of Napoleon to power in Europe brought a short truce, known as the Peace of Amiens, into the European war. As early as October, in 1800, the weak government of Spain had been compelled to give Louisiana back to France

by a secret treaty. This was only publicly acknowledged, however, in 1802. When, in 1803, Napoleon found that war was again inevitable, he sent for the American envoys in Paris and offered to them, at a low price, the whole territory. They had instructions to buy Orleans and the mouth of the river. Napoleon offered them the whole. They were amazed, and well they might have been, at the grandeur of the offer. There was no time to obtain orders from home. So soon as war was declared England could and would seize the mouth of the river. They made the great purchase, assuming the responsibility. For fifteen millions of dollars Napoleon sold them, not Orleans only, as they asked, but the empire between the Rocky Mountains and the Mississippi, as far to the northward as the Mississippi flowed. If France had any rights to Texas, as the United States afterward claimed, he sold them. If Louisiana could be made to extend beyond the Rocky Mountains to the sea, he sold this right also.

Robert Livingston, one of the wisest of our statesmen, was in Paris, and concluded the great negotiation which enables the United States to-day to send food over the world. So little did he know the greatness of what he did, that he wrote home: "I have told them that we should not send a settler across the Mississippi for one hundred years." This was in 1803. He encouraged Mr. Jefferson, whose timidity he feared, by telling him that he had already arranged with buyers who would leave to America, Orleans and the river's mouth, and take all the rest of the purchase "off our hands" by repaying the fifteen millions.

Napoleon understood what he had done, better than Livingston did. When Marbois, his minister, reported to him that the treaty was complete, he said:

"I have given England her rival."

A war of parties, and a jealousy between East and West, threw some obstacles in the way of the confirmation of the treaty by which Louisiana was purchased. All the vast territory west of the Mississippi was thus called. It was then arranged that a State should be made of the region around

Orleans, and the French settlements. The rest was wholly unsettled, excepting a few French posts and a little settlement at New Madrid, in Missouri.

Mr. Jefferson, delighted with his success, at once fitted out a party of soldiers to explore the Missouri River, and find, if they could, an access to the sea by the Columbia. This party left St. Louis in the month of March, 1804, under Captain Meriwether Lewis and Captain William Clark. They returned with the news of their own success, from the Pacific Ocean, in 1807. They were the first white men who are known to have crossed from ocean to ocean, within the present limits of the United States, from the time of the wretched Spanish slaves to whose story we owe the expedition of Coronado in 1546, and afterward the establishment of Santa Fé. Meanwhile the rapid progress of emigration westward was building towns which became cities, and was creating States. In rapid succession Ohio and Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi were added to the Union. It was now that the great invention by Fulton, of an easy and simple method of propelling vessels by steam, changed all the aspects of western settlement and of American history.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Federal Constitution.

Difficulties of the Confederacy.—Need of Stronger Government.—Western Lands.—State Constitutions.—A Convention Called.—Federal Constitution.

IN speaking of the development of the West we have referred to the government of the Federal Union, and to the administrations of Washington, Adams, and Jefferson. Our narrative now returns to the formation of the Constitution, and to the circumstances of these three "administrations."

From the time when the army disbanded, for four years, till the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the country passed through a critical period, difficult to describe because, from the nature of the case, events went forward almost without law. To merchants and men of business these were disastrous years. If their business were in different States, they found in one a currency which would not pass in another. Each State had its own paper issues, and some had begun to coin their own money. If the dealings of merchants were with Europe, they met the difficulty that the nation had scarcely any commercial treaties. Each State had its own custom-houses, and its own rates of duties. Goods which arrived at New York paid a duty different from those which arrived at New London, and these again a duty different from that at Newport, as this differed in turn from that at Boston. Nor were the differences as to customs the only differences between the States. The nearer States were to each other the more difficulties arose; and it was a local question, regarding the fisheries of the Potomac and Chesapeake, which led to the meeting which issued the call for the Convention that made the Federal Constitution of to-day.

Congress found it difficult to maintain a quorum of States, yet no act of Congress had even a nominal authority unless a majority of all the States had agreed to it. Indeed, it was difficult to persuade the best men in the States to take the thankless duty involved in a seat in Congress. The States made their delegations smaller, for the largest delegation gave but one vote. The allowances made for attendance were insignificant and inefficient. As a consequence, though some of the best men in the nation attended in turn as a sort of patriotic duty, no man attended for a long period.

Yet Congress had in hand matters of the very first importance. They ill brooked delay; but, to the misfortune of the country, delay was sometimes inevitable.

First of all, as it has proved, in importance, was the system to be adopted in treating the immense national domain of lands unsettled. The dominion of what were familiarly called Western Lands had gradually been ceded to Congress by the States which held them under their charters. This cession was in itself an act of high patriotism which shows how the national idea began to gain, in mere petty colonial or provincial politics. The claims of the seaboard States, under their charters, were in some cases in conflict with each other. Massachusetts had a grant of a strip from ocean to ocean as wide as her territory on the Atlantic. Connecticut had a grant somewhat similar. New York had a claim vast in extent and undefined.

Settlers from Virginia had already taken possession of Kentucky, and from North Carolina men had gone into Tennessee. However their problem of government was to be solved, it was a different problem from that of the Northwest, as men began to call the region west of Pennsylvania and north of the Ohio. The reader must remember that the nation, by treaty, was bounded on the west by the Mississippi. For the north-western territory different plans were proposed, which finally took form in the ordinance of 1787. This ordinance, drawn by Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts, included an article prepared by Jefferson, in an earlier draft, and forever

excluded human slavery from the territory or from the States to be drawn from it.

The policy of Congress with regard to the sale of these lands varied. It granted considerable tracts, as military grants, to officers or soldiers of the army who were willing to take such payment for their services. It was always open to proposals from speculators. Congress was sadly in want of money, and an offer of money from some land speculator, who could really pay it, would tempt Congress to almost any sale. But Congress and speculators were beginning to learn the lesson, which the princes and statesmen of Europe learn so slowly, that land is of no more value than water, unless men and women inhabit it, or want it. The companies found it harder to obtain settlers than to obtain land. If the government could have protected settlers in the West against the formidable Indian tribes it would have the better reason for fixing the price for the land it sold to them. But the army which Congress had kept after the treaty of peace was but a handful of men, and it was clear enough that the settlers in the North-west must rely chiefly on their own protection against savages, as the settlers in Kentucky had done before them.

Companies were formed of men who moved together and supported each other. Manasseh Cutler, a minister of Massachusetts, formed such a company, and obtained a grant in south-eastern Ohio, where they planted the settlement of Marietta, named in honor of Marie Antoinette. The State of Connecticut had reserved a considerable tract on Lake Erie, which is still known as the "Western Reserve." This region was mostly filled by men and women from Connecticut. The movement westward attracted men in every eastern State, and while the leaders in society, almost without exception, frowned on the emigration, and even prophesied ruin to the country from its effect on the Atlantic States, the people of America, which has always been wiser than its governors, understood the present and the future, and used the virgin soil of the West just so far as it was useful to it. The settlers asked no help; they prepared to defend themselves; and so new States were created.

Massachusetts made liberal grants in Maine to her soldiers. The counties of Knox and Lincoln retain the names of the generals who established themselves there, with some following of the men they had commanded. The fertile valleys of Vermont, which established itself as a State, received enthusiastic settlers from the older States of New England. New York made large grants to foreign purchasers within her western domains, themselves as large as many a European principality. In Pennsylvania the climate was tempting to men from Europe, and that State, more than any other, still preserves the traditions of new Outopias, founded by one and another school of religion or politics, each of which was to be an example of reconstructed society. Such a dream, now attempted, was the "pantisocracy" which Coleridge and Southey proposed on the Susquehanna, and in such colonies Talleyrand, and Volney, and Chateaubriand had some of their early experiences. General Pickering took his family from Massachusetts to Wyoming in a colony which was to build up the deserted ruins left by the massacre commanded by Butler.

In Virginia, Washington himself used his great influence in improving the water communication with the valley of the Ohio. He attempted again the enterprises, of which his boyhood saw the beginning, for introducing emigration beyond the Alleghany Mountains. In his large correspondence with Europe, the subject of European emigration was often alluded to. But though several religious communities and many men of education crossed the ocean to America, led largely by the attractions of the new dreams of a new social order, there was no such wave of westward emigration as has distinguished the last forty years. That belonged to commercial conditions which did not yet exist. From North Carolina, settlers had already crossed the mountain, who formed the State, already independent, which we call Tennessee. Its early history has been told already in another chapter.

The rapid development of the physical resources of the country was seriously arrested by the inability of the Conti-

nental Congress to carry out any national policy. It attempted to cope with the financial difficulty, by persuading the maritime States to agree on one impost, the same for all. But, first, Congress found it hard to agree itself; second, it found itself impotent to persuade. Meanwhile, however, men of affairs, men who had traveled abroad, and men who had served in the army, knew that these thirteen States, almost at war with each other in their jarring policies, might be a nation. Such men knew that the time might come when the "United States" should be spoken of in the singular number. Every failure in the unsystematic course of four years of national conflict was dwelt on by such men, and, at the end of four wretched years, even the large body of the people, who at first, perhaps, were indifferent to the hopes for a national unity, felt that some effort for it must be made.

It is now interesting to see that the first practical measure in this direction was led by Washington himself. The difficulties which have been alluded to, as to the navigation and fisheries of the Potomac and the Chesapeake, became so serious as to require the attention of the governments of the States adjoining those waters. A commission was appointed by Virginia to meet a similar commission from Maryland. Of this commission Washington was the chief. Indeed, in his own home, at Mt. Vernon, he was almost the eye-witness of the controversies involved. This commission, fortunately for the United States and for mankind, did not satisfy itself with the attempt to adjust a local quarrel. Clearly enough, indeed, the local quarrel could not be adjusted without reference to the rights of navigators and fishermen from other States. Before its adjournment it recommended a convention of all the States, to consider the possibilities and the methods of a closer union and of a stronger national government. Washington, and other men who saw the need of such a government, used all their power in their own and other States to secure such a convention. They obtained, with some difficulty, a vote of the Congress of the Confederation, already dying, to give to it such poor authority as that body

had. And at last, delegates from twelve States, more than the number proposed in the call to give validity to its proceedings, met in Philadelphia on the 25th of May, 1787.

Mr. Gladstone says: "The American Constitution is, so far as I can see, the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

Before we record its work, however, it will be necessary to state briefly what progress the different States had made in the work of establishing governments for themselves.

At the instance of Massachusetts, the Continental Congress, even before the Declaration of Independence, had recommended and authorized the several colonies to take steps for the proper ordering of their civil government. The Massachusetts statesmen were very desirous that this recommendation should be as strong as possible; that is, that it should claim as much power as Congress would venture to claim. For they were very desirous that the people of a State should not feel, whenever uneasy, that they could unmake the government they had made.

Acting under this request or authority, the several States, so soon as their royal governors fled from them, established constitutions of government generally after one model. A short letter written by John Adams, in 1776, furnished the principles of almost all these constitutions, and they have served as the basis of all the American constitutions ever since; and, indeed, of the written constitutions of Spanish America and of Europe, made since then. Resting on the distinctions carefully drawn by Montesquieu, in a book then recent, between the executive, the legislative and the judicial authority, Mr. Adams's suggestions provided for a radical and almost complete separation between the men who had in hand these functions of government. So far as possible, they were to be independent of each other. The men who made laws were not to execute them, nor were they to try the criminals who broke them. Further than this, Mr. Adams's scheme provided for a division of the legislative power so that it should be held by two houses. This division had for

authority the well-known and successful division between the House of Lords and the House of Commons in England. What would be quite as important in Mr. Adams's mind, as it should have been, was the successful arrangement for legislative powers in the colony of Massachusetts Bay, and in most of the other colonies, of a House of Delegates representing the people, acting with a smaller council of persons more closely connected with the executive. In Massachusetts this council was named "at large," as we now say, with no necessary reference to the residence of the members. It was also a fit representation of the men of property of the colony.

From new-born States, most of whom had such constitutions, the new convention met. Some of the States had varied from the general type, in their constitutions. Thus in Pennsylvania, in obedience, probably, to a favorite opinion of Franklin's, there was at that time but one legislative body. In general, the people had had the experience for a few years of their new constitutions. And in all instances, as the reader knows, there had been some local government from an early period in the colonial history.

All these States had exercised sovereign power. This power had been conceded since 1783; it had been claimed and generally had existed since 1776. The new Convention, then, had before it two difficult tasks—first, of separating national powers in government from local powers, and then of persuading or compelling the thirteen States, if it could, to accept its theory of separation, and to concede to the central government the powers needed for national administration.

It may be doubted whether the duty of the Convention was thus clearly apprehended by most of the people who united willingly enough in the choice of the members. But the members themselves proved to understand it much better than some of the leaders of opinion had feared, for the law of selection had done its work. Men who did not want a strong national government had not come to the Convention. They had distrusted it, and, generally speaking, had kept away from it. Generally speaking, the men who had come

were men who believed that there should be a nation, and that that nation should have the powers of a nation.

In answering the great question which had till then never been put, far less answered, "What are national duties, as distinct from those of local government?" the Convention made these decisions:

The nation is to take charge of all foreign relations with civilized nations or savages.

It insures peace and republican government to the constituent States.

It regulates commerce between them, their currency and their mails.

It secures equal justice between citizens of different States, and each citizen has the same rights as another in all parts of the nation."

For the rest, each State provides for its citizens or the citizens of the United States within its own borders. Their rights, their health, their education, their roads, their religion, are its concern. No other State can interfere in its arrangements for these, nor can the United States. But, by some great exceptions from this theory, the Constitution provided that there should be no State religion in any State and no order of nobility. The people who made it had determined that the governments should be republican, and they acted on the principle that a religious hierarchy or a political aristocracy would break up republican government.

In the Convention less difficulty was found, probably, than had been feared, as to the possibility of making a strong central government. Two difficulties did present themselves of a most serious character. The one was the jealousy on the part of the small States of the possible tyranny of the larger. Men remembered that in the German empire the House of Austria had arrogated all the imperial powers for more than two centuries. The other was the jealousy between the commercial States of the north and the Southern States, which were mostly agricultural. The Northern States were indifferent to the institution of slavery. The

Southern States conceived it necessary for their prosperity. Should Negro slaves, who gave no votes, be counted as if they were citizens who voted? This question was one which presented itself in every decision as to the fundamental bases of the Constitution.

The decision of the first of these questions was arrived at gradually, as the different sections of the Convention felt their power. It continued in existence, practically, the old Confederate Congress in the Senate. But each State was now restricted to sending two delegates to the Senate, and these delegates, if they chose, might neutralize the vote of the State by voting in opposition to each other. In the election of President, also, a small State was to have a larger proportional power than a large one, for each State, however small its population, had at least three electors of a President. The arrangement thus made put an end, forever, to all jealousy between large States and small, and none has ever appeared in American politics.

The questions in regard to slavery, were adjusted by compromises which were not so fortunate. But, until the year 1820, they gave a sufficiently easy method of living in common, to admit of political action on subjects not closely connected with slavery. It was agreed that in assessing national taxes, levied on the States by the nation, only three fifths of the assessed value of Negro slaves should be taxed. On the other hand, in the estimate of population for the return of members of Congress, or in the choice of the President, only three fifths of their number should be counted. Congress was not to have power to suppress the African slave trade for twenty years. This consideration was thought necessary, that the newer States toward the south might receive a proper share of laborers. It proved of more importance than was supposed.

After eager, and sometimes bitter, discussions, which took place in closed doors, without the presence of general spectators, the Constitution was made public. It provided for its own amendment by articles which two thirds of the legis-

latures of the States approved. But it did not propose to take its authority from the legislatures. A very important claim in the theory of the men who made it, was, that it was the work of the people of the United States. It begins with the words, "We, the people of the United States."

It was to be accepted, if at all, by conventions of the people in at least nine States. From September 17, 1787, when the members of the Convention signed it, until late in the summer of 1788, was a period of great anxiety and intense interest. In almost every State an opposition to it appeared. Merely local politicians almost inevitably, from the law of their being, opposed it. Pure theorists could then, as they can now, find many points where it is open to attack. In different States the opposition took different grounds. It may, perhaps, be said, that the small States voted for it more cordially, because it gave them much more than their shares, if the decision went by a democratic appeal to numbers. In the large States, as it happened, of New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Virginia, the opposition was most bitter. This was, perhaps, from the underlying feeling in these States each that it could stand by itself. A happy suggestion in Massachusetts gave an excuse for the more moderate of the opposition to acquiesce in its trial, so to speak, as an experiment. It was suggested that ten amendments, to be accepted as soon as possible, should be drawn, which might serve as a sort of "Bill of Rights," guarding the endangered powers of the States. These ten amendments were drawn, and, as proposed, were adopted, and have since proved not unimportant parts of the instrument. With these amendments, which underwent a new handling in Virginia, it was assented to in these two States, then the largest in the nation. One State more was necessary. The friends of union in the South rejoiced when they heard that North Carolina had made the Union a certainty. In the North a like joy was felt at the accession of New Hampshire, while the decision of North Carolina was not known. The news from the North met that from the South in Baltimore. With great joy the acceptance of the

Constitution, which was the real birth of the nation, was made sure. John Adams, who was in England when it was made, wrote to an English friend when it was accepted : "We have made a Constitution which will keep us from cutting each other's throats for a few years longer."

The arrangements for the first election were made at once. It took place in November, 1788. The electors, of course, chose George Washington as the first President of the nation. For the Vice-Presidency, their votes were divided.

At that time no popular nominations were formally made for these posts. There was a certain measure of doubt on whom the second choice would fall, until the electoral colleges met and made their decision. It then appeared that Washington was the unanimous choice of the electors. He had 69 electoral votes; Adams had 34; next to him was Jay, of New York, who had 9. At the election four years afterward, Washington had 132 votes, and Adams, 77; George Clinton, of New York, had 50, and Jefferson, 4.

Some form of national government was necessary, and this a strong and popular form. But the People of America is, as Mr. Garfield well said, always wiser than any one man of the people. The People was working out the steps by which the future fortunes of America were to be guided, without the least assistance or direction from the men who supposed they were the leaders of the country. Such has been the great lesson of the history of the first hundred years of the United States. While its people always take an intense interest in political discussions, its real progress and prosperity go forward, in a certain sense, independent of political discussion. They have often been thwarted by the ignorance or timidity of men who had political power; but the suggestions of advance and the real improvements have come from men who are supposed to be private men, and thought so themselves.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Washington's Presidency.

Inauguration—Cabinet—First and Second Congresses—Hamilton's Plans—Jefferson's and Randolph's—The War Department—St. Clair and Wayne—Foreign Politics—Genet in America—England and America—Jay's Treaty—Ratification of Treaties.

THE inauguration of the new President and the beginning of the new government were fixed to take place on the 4th of March, 1789, if a quorum of the new Congress then assembled. It is, however, a curious illustration of the indifference of the country to matters in which it now takes interest so intense, that it was the end of April before a sufficient number of the Senate and the House assembled for the purposes of the formal inauguration. The inauguration took place in the city of New York, where the Convention had arranged that the government should go into operation. Congress met immediately, and so soon as the several secretaries were appointed to the departments of War, of the Treasury and of State, frequent communication between the Executive and Congress began. Jefferson was at the head of the Department of State, Hamilton at the head of the Treasury, Knox was Secretary of War, and Randolph, of Virginia, Attorney General. These four made the first Cabinet. It was only afterward that the Department of the Navy was separated from that of War, and the Department of the Interior from that of State.

The first and second Congresses, those which served during Washington's first term, did an amount of work for the nation which it would be impossible to describe within the pages of this history. First of all in its importance was the funding of the national debt, which was done under the skill-

ful directions of Hamilton. He had shown courage and resource in the field, and it is clear that, whatever fame he acquired in the Cabinet, to the end of his life he looked upon himself as a soldier. He had, however, been trained early to mercantile affairs. He was a lawyer in good practice in the city of New York; and he brought to the administration of the Treasury Department certain distinct principles which gave to that administration great success. "He caught the drowning credit of America by the locks, and dragged it into life." The plans which Hamilton made for funding the debt, and for a regular income to be derived from foreign customs, met at the time with terrible opposition, as he met with terrible obloquy. There were in New York enough stock-jobbers already, willing to make money on every improvement in the national credit, for men easily to charge motives of fraud upon every person who voted to improve the credit of the government. All the charges made against such men have long since been forgotten, and this is not the place to renew them. It may be remembered, however, as a warning to the politicians of this day, that, to establish the credit of America upon that firm basis of which all Americans are so proud, every man who voted for the measures which were taken had to pass through a daily fire of accusations of treason.

The arrangements for the Judiciary, made under the direction of Randolph and of Jefferson, have proved to be equally wise. They have been enlarged often between that period and this, but the execution of law, as far as it falls to national tribunals, is now substantially the same as it was at the beginning.

The War Department had to consider difficult questions with the drawback of great jealousy on the part of the whole country to any large establishment. Its first experiment was singularly unsuccessful. In 1791 the condition of affairs at the west was such as to make it necessary that the nation should assert itself. St. Clair, who had served in the Revolution, was sent into the valley of the Ohio at the head of a

force supposed to be sufficient to suppress the Indians. In point of fact he was surprised, half his army was killed, and the rest fled, St. Clair not the last of the fugitives. The whole loss amounted to six hundred and seventy-seven who were killed, and two hundred and seventy-one who were wounded. The campaign was ended for that year. Anthony Wayne was then appointed to succeed St. Clair. He was the "Mad Anthony" of the Revolution who stormed Stony Point so successfully. In the spring of 1794, he led a second expedition with judgment and prudence, which has ever since acquitted him of the charge of madness. The result was a complete defeat of the Indians on the Miami, which proved decisive. From that time to this those strong tribes have never seriously injured the settlers among them. Wayne made a treaty with them on the 7th of August, 1795, and returned amid the acclamations of the people almost in a triumphal entry.

Foreign politics took a much larger place in the discussions of Congress and of the executive than is granted to them in our times. The whole condition of Europe was disorderly. The French republicans had killed their king in 1793, and the queen's death followed. The war with all continental Europe and England followed, which wholly deranged the commerce of Europe, and, almost of necessity, involved neutral states in controversy. With France the United States was closely bound. As the reader knows, the treaties of America with France in the Revolution were offensive and defensive. America was bound to sustain the quarrel of France against any foreign enemy. The new nation had no wish to go into the general contest which now occupied the world. Of all men in America, Washington was most determined that she should not be involved in such confusion. On the other hand, the new government of France, which was seeking and making republican alliances all through Europe, was very little satisfied with an ally like America, which did not come to its assistance when it was in need although it had founded republican government for

itself. From the cross purposes, natural enough in such a condition of things, there sprang confusion and even contest. The French cruisers constantly seized American vessels engaged in lawful trade, generally in the West Indies. Once and again they insulted American cruisers which had been sent out to protect American commerce.

The French sent Genet as an envoy to America, who, with the same arrogance which had characterized the envoys of the French republic in Europe, addressed public assemblies in the large cities, and affected to be the adviser in government of the nation to which he was commissioned. The American government would not brook such impertinence, and demanded and obtained his recall. Meanwhile, every phase of the conflict between England and France was reflected in the American seaboard cities. Thus the French frigate *Ambuscade* was challenged by the English frigate *Boston* to a naval duel off New York. She had the advantage, and was received on her return from the battle with wild enthusiasm by the populace. The waves of opinion ran backward and forward. The government, which was determined to keep an equal hand in such contests, was now abused and now high in popular favor.

With England the relations of America were quite as complicated as those with France. The identity of language and the relationships of birth naturally made the Americans the customers of England for the manufactures of Europe; and the habits of a hundred and fifty years tended in the direction of a close commerce between the nations. But, on the other hand, there were scarcely twenty miles of sea coast which had not been ravaged by the English army or the English navy. All the old sentimental love of home had vanished, and the Englishman of that day was as thoroughly hated by the American as ever was a Spaniard hated by an Englishman of Hawkins's fleet. All the efforts of France and of the American diplomatists in France had been directed toward creating a direct trade between France and the new-born States. Still England held the northern front-

ier of America. Some treaty of commerce with England was necessary. America supplied the West India colonies with their food. Among the early endeavors of the government, therefore, was the negotiation of a treaty of commerce which should regulate the transactions of commerce between the nations.

This treaty was made by John Jay, a statesmen of great purity and wide intelligence. It happened to return to America for ratification at the moment when the popular enthusiasm in favor of France was at the highest, and when the English scale happened to be very low. The question of ratification became, therefore, a very bitter party question between the friends of England and the friends of France. The old advocates of a strong government generally took up the English side, while the advocates of strong State governments took up the French side. It was only after a battle of which our modern politics give hardly an idea that the treaty, with some modifications, was ratified by the Senate. Of the detail of the diplomacy in this and other treaties, some account will be given in a separate chapter.

In the ratification of all the early treaties some questions arose which are open questions to this day. The Constitution provides that treaties must be ratified by the Senate, and seems to give to that body the power of ratification. But the same Constitution provides that the House of Representatives shall originate all "money bills," meaning all proposals for expenditure. If, then, a treaty requires any expenditure, even of a small sum, may the Senate ratify it without consulting the House of Representatives on the subject of that expenditure? This question has again and again arisen between the two houses of Congress. It will readily be seen that though the President may call an extra session of the Senate for the purpose of confirming a treaty, the Senate's power of ratification might be seriously abridged.

Washington left office at a time when the extreme politicians and the journals under their command were disposed to vilify even him because he gave so little countenance to

their extravagant plans. But the people of the country never failed in their enthusiastic love of him. When he retired, in 1797, he issued a farewell address to the American nation which has always been regarded as one of the central documents in the study of American politics. Its advice to his American countrymen, that they should abstain from entangling alliances with the powers of the Old World, was founded upon the experiences of his own administration, and has since been observed almost as if its suggestions were an integral part of the national Constitution.

We will now turn from the limited order of the presidential administrations to trace the steps of progress which the people of the United States made as soon as it found that the national government was secure.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Three Steps of Progress.

Cotton Industry—Gen. Greene in Georgia—Eli Whitney—Invention of the Cotton Gin—Whitney's Life—English Inventions—Maritime Success—North-west Coast—Columbia River—Emigration to the West—Fulton's Introduction of the Steamboat.

WE are now to review the three great steps in the prosperity of the nation in the first fifty years after its creation. They were scarcely thought of by the men who made the Constitution, and were but scantily provided for in that instrument. But they were the direct result of the new nationality, and without it each of the three would have been impossible.

These steps in American history are: first, the development of the industry in cotton; second, the commercial pre-eminence gained by the United States in the half century which follows the period of the formation of the Constitution; and, third, the creation of the Western States.

The first in order of these new steps in national life was the astonishing development of the cotton industry. In 1794, when Jay's treaty with England was made, so little cotton was raised in the United States that none of the negotiators of that treaty knew that any was exported. In 1843, fifty years after, the cotton crop of the United States was 2,000,000 bales. The crop of 1885 was 5,700,000 bales.

The increase came about in this way:

At the end of the war the new State of Georgia, by way of showing its gratitude to Gen. Nathaniel Greene, the victor at Eutaw, gave to him a tract of land. Greene, like other generals of whom mention has been made already, had to begin a new life when he laid down his commission; and he ac-

cepted this gift with the determination to become a citizen of Georgia. He removed his family thither in 1784, and established a plantation, where he himself died in 1786. In the year 1792 Mrs. Greene had been visiting the North, and on her return met, as a fellow-passenger in the packet, Eli Whitney, a graduate of the last summer from Yale College. He was then just twenty-seven years old, and had agreed to act as tutor in the family of a Georgian gentleman. When he arrived in Georgia, however, he found that other arrangements had been made, and that he was without a home. It was then that he accepted an invitation from Mrs. Greene, and became her guest for the rest of the winter.

A company of her friends were one day discussing the resources of Georgia, and expressed their regret that no machine had been invented which would separate cotton from its seed, so that it could be shipped for the English market in competition with East Indian cotton, which was laboriously picked by hand. Mrs. Greene said that if a machine were to be invented, Mr. Whitney would invent it, such skill had he shown in matters relating to machinery. The problem was stated to him. With some difficulty, some cotton still in the boll was obtained from Savannah. There was none in the neighborhood of the plantation, and Mr. Whitney had never seen any. He applied himself at once to the invention required. He succeeded, and so soon, that before the summer was over he had completed working models of the cotton-gin which afterward bore his name. He and his companions in the adventure were among the first of the inventors who claimed the benefit of the patent law of the new nation. His first patent was issued to him in March, 1793.

Such is the brief history of a great invention, which was destined to change the history of America, and, indeed, of the world. It should interest young men to remember that it was the invention of a young man in the first year after he left college.

Whitney went to Connecticut to establish a factory, and did so. It is a pity that we must add that various piratical

inventors did their best to take from him the profit of his great invention. Indeed, that invention itself, while it changed the fortune of the country, brought very little profit to Eli Whitney. The United States afterward employed him as a manufacturer of muskets, but the surreptitious inventions of cotton-gins borrowed from his own were such that, up till his death, he received nothing from his patent until it expired in the year 1807. He lived till the year 1825, when he died sixty years old. At that time the cotton States produced three quarters of a million bales; at this time the production is nearly seven millions of bales; and this enormous increase was all due to the invention of this machine.

During the same period the English manufacturers were improving the machinery with which they worked the fiber which America was producing for their hands. Every time that trade with England was stopped, as by the war of 1812, American manufacturers attempted the same inventions. The necessities of America for cotton cloth could not be left to the accidents of blockades or the exigencies of war. At the end of the War of 1812 this industry was so largely established, and it was so evidently in the interest of the cotton-growing States that it should be maintained, that, with the approval of Mr. Calhoun, who represented those States, a strong protective duty gave assistance to the American manufacturers. From that time they have been the competitors of Europe in a manufacture so necessary for the comfort of the world. It is said that England conquered Napoleon by the wealth which she accumulated in the manufacture of cotton. This wealth was largely due to the change in American agriculture which we have named as the first of the three great powers which were active in the creation of the United States, as we know that nation to-day.

So soon as a firm national government gave opportunity for safe investment in commercial enterprise, the maritime adventure of the new nation increased with marvelous rapidity. The men of New England inherit a passion for the sea

from their Kentish, Danish, and Norse ancestry. Scarcely were they established in Plymouth, in Massachusetts Bay, and on the shores of New Hampshire and Maine, before they began to build ships. They found that the timber of their forests served them well for this purpose. There were no better harbors in the world than those where they were settled. The fisheries of the neighboring coasts provided them with food and gave them an article of ready commerce. Before two generations were passed the New Englanders were furnishing salted fish to the Lenten days of every Catholic country in Europe. They were providing the West Indies and Bahamas with food which those islands did not easily furnish. They brought back sugar, molasses, and the silver of their coinage. Before the end of the century they had learned that they could build cheaper and better ships than could be built in England. De Foe, who was well acquainted with the course of commerce, makes Robinson Crusoe propose, in 1694, to steer for Boston harbor for repairs; and before the year 1700 Lord Bellomont, the governor, reported to the English government that the province of Massachusetts had more tons of shipping afloat than had all Scotland and Ireland together.

The reader has seen how extensive was the privateering force of these States while the war lasted. So soon as it was over the enterprising men who had been obliged to satisfy themselves in adventure, chiefly warlike, turned to distant navigation, as well as to the commerce to which the English navigation laws had confined them.

Burke had spoken at the beginning of the war with enthusiastic praise of the wealth which "they drew from both oceans by their fisheries." He meant the northern and the southern Atlantic. As soon as they had direct freedom of trade with all the world, the merchants of Salem and Boston tried the adventure of the Pacific, and pushed so far as the north-west coast, then just known to men by the explorations of Cooke and Clerke, Vancouver and Krusenstern. La Perouse visited the same coast in 1787, at the beginning of his unfortunate and mysterious voyage.

In the year 1792, Captain Gray, in the ship *Columbia Rediviva*, sailing from Boston, discovered the great river to which he gave the name of Columbia, from his ship, a name which it bears to this day. The voyage was one in a trade which the New England merchants had devised, and which they long continued with success. Vessels with hardware such as savages need, and gew-gaws such as they prize, went direct from New England around the Island of Terra del Fuego, or through the Straits of Magellan, to the north-western coast of America. Here the captains sold their wares to the Indians, receiving in return the skins of those regions, which the Indians soon learned to have ready for the white men. It was then an easy voyage to China, where, by a second exchange, the furs produced cargoes of teas, silk, ginger, and other Chinese goods, which were then brought back by the Indian Ocean and the Cape of Good Hope for the supply of the markets of the world.

To merchants engaged in this trade—in the older trade in fish and oil—in the building of ships for sale in European ports—the complications of European war soon offered advantages which, even in 1783, the most sanguine did not dream of. So soon as France was arrayed against the world, the merchandize which she needed from abroad could scarcely be brought to her in her own vessels, so great was the danger of capture. Vessels of England, or her other enemies, were, of course, refused entrance to her ports. When Spain was allied to her, or Italy or Holland, the condition of those countries was the same. The commerce of the European world thus fell largely into the hands of "neutrals." Of the neutral powers America was by far the largest, in a maritime view, or that which had most ships and seamen. American maritime commerce thus received an unexpected bounty. The ship which sailed from Boston, or New York, or Baltimore, perhaps never returned there. She was engaged in lucrative voyages from one port of Europe to another. Thus, the captain sailed, perhaps, with a cargo of tobacco for Nantes. At Nantes he might take wines for Liverpool, to which port

no French merchantman could go. At Liverpool he could take English hardware to Italy, to whose ports no English merchantman could go. From Italy he took oil to St. Petersburg. From St. Petersburg he took hemp to the Spanish dock-yards. Thus for year after year he might continue in the European seas in what came to be known as "the carrying trade." Some of his crew remained with him, perhaps all. The places of those who left him were easily supplied, and from time to time he remitted to the owners of his ship his accounts of their joint successes, and the drafts, which were the profits, which were invested in the building of new vessels for the like uses. As the commerce of European ports suffered more and more under the Continental War, the commerce of America improved, excepting at those periods which are described in another chapter, when the rulers of America joined in the European complications.

The third of the great movements of the American people, which it conducted for itself, without guidance or assistance from the national government, was the emigration by which it possessed the States then called Western, which now divide the States of the Atlantic from those of the Pacific. Of this emigration some account is given in another chapter of this book. It can hardly be said to have been organized, though sometimes a considerable party moved together. Single families, single men, emigrated as they chose, when they chose, and where they chose. For a generation the movement was looked upon with doubt by the more prominent politicians. But the People was wiser than its leaders. After the great invention of the steamboat had been successfully tried by Fulton, the value of the great western region was felt by all men for the first time.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Early Diplomacy of the United States.

"Jay's Treaty"—Questions Left Unsettled by the Treaty of Peace—Withdrawal of Negroes and Garrisons Left in North-western Posts—States Unwilling to Carry Out the Recommendations of Congress—Difficulty in Obtaining Favorable Terms for Commerce with England—No Undivided Front in America—French and English Sympathizers—Impressment of American Seamen—Complications Caused by War Between France and England—Jay Makes What Terms he Can—His Treaty Unpopular, but Prevents War—Negotiations with Spain—Free Navigation of the Mississippi Desired—Florida Boundary Questions—Tedious Negotiations—Pinckney's Treaty with Godoy—France Our First Ally—Early Treaties with that Power—Difficulties Caused by the War of 1793—American Desire for Neutrality—French Dissatisfaction Caused by Washington's Infractions of Treaties—Munroe Sent to France—French Indignation at Jay's Treaty—Tortuous Course of Negotiations—Preparations for War—One More Attempt for Peace—Negotiations with the First Consul—Friendly Footing Obtained—A Fortunate Neutrality.

IT will be more convenient to our readers to consider at once the details of the treaties which have been alluded to, the negotiation of which sometimes covers a long period of years.

An understanding of the main lines of the foreign relations of the United States during the first few years of the country's existence is most necessary to an appreciation of the state of the country during that period. The subject is one that can be presented only in the broadest manner in the space at our command. There are, however, certain principal topics, a clear statement of which will do much toward giving a correct view.

The first of these is the treaty with England negotiated by John Jay in 1794, which commonly goes by the name of "Jay's Treaty."

At the close of the Revolutionary War there were various questions between the United States and England which seemed fit subjects for negotiation. The Treaty of Peace had announced the independence of the United States, but it had not contained a settlement of certain questions sure to arise. And even out of the treaty itself arose matters which it seemed would be productive of trouble. In the seventh article of that treaty it had been agreed that "His Britannic Majesty shall, with all convenient speed and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any Negroes or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garrisons, and fleets from the said United States, and from every port, place, and harbor within the same." It was an infraction of this article that the English armies should have carried away with them on their withdrawal from New York a large number of Negro slaves, the property of Americans, and also that the English Government should refuse to withdraw the garrisons from the frontier posts of Michilimackinac, Detroit, Fort Erie, Niagara, Oswego, Oswegatchie, on the St. Lawrence, and Port au fer and Dutchman's Point, on Lake Champlain, all within the territory acknowledged in the treaty to belong to the United States. The first point was of great interest to the former owners of the slaves, the latter to the whole nation, both because the holding of the posts wounded the national pride, and also because it became clearer and clearer as each year passed that English agents in those posts incited the Indians near by to hostilities toward the United States.

The English were not, however, without some show of right in their position. The fourth article of the treaty had declared, "That creditors on either side shall meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery, at the full value in sterling money, of all *bona fide* debts heretofore contracted." The fifth article agreed that "Congress shall earnestly recommend to the legislatures of the respective States to provide for the restitution of all estates," and so forth, which had been confiscated. Now, the different States had passed laws at

various times of such a nature that the collection of debts due to Englishmen, existing before the Revolution, had become either difficult or impossible, and in certain cases had shown no disposition to give up confiscated property. Under the Articles of Confederation, as the reader knows, Congress could only recommend in such cases. As a matter of fact, the two articles were practically of no effect. It was on this account that the British Government refused to carry out the seventh article.

There were other matters, generally in regard to trade, which required settlement. At that period commercial matters were conducted and regulated by an immense number of treaties between the various powers in the world, every power desiring to gain for itself exceptional privileges. The merchants of the United States desired a close commercial alliance with England. But that power, foreseeing that the commerce of the United States would come to her soon enough in natural course, showed no disposition to grant any privileges in return for what she could get without. A particular desire existed in the United States to be allowed to trade with the West Indies, a profitable commerce which had long been carried on by the colonies, but which, being denied to foreign countries, was closed to the United States when that country became independent. There were other questions, arising later, which we shall note in their place.

The views of the two parties in the case must be understood. England, becoming rapidly involved in continental entanglements, showed no desire to offer any thing toward a peaceful accommodation of these questions. In case of negotiation she had little to gain and much to lose. She preferred to leave the questions in *statu quo*. In case of war she had every thing to gain and nothing to lose. It is easy to see that negotiation on these terms was difficult. The American States, on the other hand, were by no means at unity among themselves. The slaveholders cared for the stolen Negroes; the seaport towns cared for the British commerce and the West India trade; the west cared more particularly about

the evacuation of the posts. There was no undivided front. In other ways the country was divided. There was a large party who believed in France as an ally. They were averse to any concessions to Great Britain, and believed that the United States would find its true interest in seeking a close connection with that power which had enabled her to gain her independence. Another party, having a sincere sympathy with English principles, and a true love and admiration for that country which had so long been a mother, though a harsh one, to America, considered that an alliance with Great Britain was of more value than any other foreign connection. As England and France were drifting toward war, these two factions became more and more bitterly opposed to each other. Though neither desired to carry its views to such an extent as to involve America in a war on the side of either European power, each had a different policy in regard to negotiations.

Through the indifference of England it was with great difficulty that any negotiations proceeded at all. John Adams, the first minister accredited to the Court of St. James, was received in the most cordial manner, but was unable to effect any thing. Mr. Hammond, who was sent as minister plenipotentiary to this country, carried on a dilatory correspondence with Mr. Jefferson, from which it appeared that England was firmly resolved to abate nothing from her position.

Meanwhile, new matters for difference had arisen. One was in regard to English impressment of American seamen. The captains of short-handed English cruisers would stop American ships and take from them such sailors as they required, on the pretense that they were English-born and, therefore, still the king's subjects and so liable to impressment.

On the breaking out, in 1793, of war between England and the French Republic, new matters of dispute arose. Both the belligerent powers issued regulations whereby either enemy's merchandise, or contraband (in which were included provisions) destined for an enemy's port, was declared good

prize when found in neutral vessels. Such a position, by no means unusual at that time, resulted disastrously to American commerce, for the United States was almost the only neutral carrying power at this time. Protest in the matter was made, and found useless.

All these matters required settlement. If they could not be settled, war was the only remedy. And for war the United States was unprepared. Therefore it is not astonishing that the business did not turn out greatly to her advantage. In 1794 Mr. Jay was appointed to a special mission to negotiate a treaty with England. He was of those who held that it was to the interest of America to unite more and more closely with England. He negotiated a treaty without great difficulty, but it was by means of giving up most of the disputed points and leaving others unsettled. It is now clear that this was the only course that could have been pursued. By this treaty it was provided that the northern posts should be evacuated in two years' time, that the matter of English debts should be referred to a commission, that claims of violation of neutral rights should be referred to another, that there should be free trade between all the British dominions in Europe and the United States, and that the United States should be free to pursue the East India trade. The question of compensation for the Negroes was dropped; the question of impressment was dropped, as being impossible to settle; the question of the West India trade was settled in such a manner that the United States procured a suspension of its terms, so that that question was also practically dropped.

There was a great outcry made in the United States at the publication of the treaty, but it was probably the best way out of a bad place. It was negotiated by Mr. Jay in good faith, and as being the best thing that could be done under the circumstances. Certain of the questions which were dropped came up for settlement later, as we shall see when we reach the war of 1812.

With Spain no treaty at all had been made at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, but there was at least one

very important question, a question which grew in importance day by day. This was in regard to the free navigation of the Mississippi River. As the settlers pushed out into the "Great West," as Kentucky and Tennessee, and then Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois began to be settled, more and more did it become apparent that it was necessary that the United States should be allowed free navigation of the river from source to ocean. At this time, it will be remembered, the Mississippi was the western boundary of the United States from its source down to the 31st parallel. West of the Mississippi and south of the 31st parallel the territory belonged to Spain, and this power, owning both banks of the river at New Orleans and below, claimed the right to exact such duties at that place as seemed to her good. To obtain the free navigation of the Mississippi then was one of the main efforts of American diplomacy during this period. There were also boundary questions in regard to Florida, which need not be exactly stated, which were pressed by Spain, and both countries desired some basis for commercial intercourse. John Jay had, during the latter part of the Revolutionary War, resided for some time in Spain endeavoring to effect a treaty. After the peace, in 1785, he was commissioned by Congress again to attempt negotiations with Gardoqui, at that time Chargé d'Affaires from Spain in this country. Spain demanded that the United States should give up her claim to the freedom of the river, and should make some settlement of boundaries. In return she was willing to grant large and liberal commercial privileges. But Jay was firm so far as the freedom of navigation was concerned, and no result was reached. For some time nothing more was attempted. Mr. Carmichael remained at the Court of Spain and received due recognition as Chargé d'Affaires, but nothing was said of a treaty. In 1790 the state of Europe was such that it was probable that a general war would ensue, and as it appeared necessary that the United States should stand on some firm ground in her relations with Spain, a commission was appointed to attempt negotiations again in regard to the navigation of the river. The commis-

sion was also to touch on the Spanish claims of territory in the south, and to request some adjustment of commercial matters.

Not to dwell in detail on the negotiations which continued in various hands for several years, the position of the United States was always as follows: That in 1763 (when Louisiana had been granted to Spain) the free navigation of the river had been granted to Great Britain, and in the treaty of peace between that power and the United States the latter country had been expressly named as being, in respect to the Mississippi, in the same position which Great Britain had previously stood in. It was also held that by the law of nations the United States, holding the upper part of the river and having such immense territories lying upon it, had, from that very fact, a right to free outlet. These positions were denied by Spain on very strong grounds, which it would take too long to state in detail.

The commission appointed did not effect any thing. Jay's treaty with England, signed in 1794, complicated matters, for in the next year a treaty was signed between France and Spain, and a treaty between Great Britain and the United States was naturally looked upon with displeasure by both those powers. Despite this, however, after some delays and conversations with the Spanish commissioner in the United States, Mr. Thomas Pinckney was appointed minister, and negotiation began again. At this time Godoy, afterward called "Prince of Peace," was at the head of Spanish affairs, and with him Mr. Pinckney succeeded in arranging matters so that a treaty was made, October 25th, 1795. The treaty was, on the whole, all that the United States could have expected to get. The great point was conceded, and the Mississippi was free to the citizens of the United States. Other questions, as of boundary and certain damages, were referred to commissions, and thus placed in a way of friendly settlement. Various questions of maritime law were arranged in later articles.

But the treaty, although not unfavorable to the United

States, was not very satisfactory to Spain, and various small complications of diplomacy continually troubled the relations of the two countries, until in the continual changes of European policy a situation arose which Jefferson seized upon, and by a skillful stroke settled the greater number of Spanish questions at once. Of these measures the account will be found in another chapter.

The first power with which the United States had had diplomatic intercourse had been France. Immediately after the declaration of independence, when the question of foreign alliances had come up in Congress, France had been, for a variety of reasons, the first country to be considered. A commission had been sent to that country the same year to negotiate an alliance, and fifteen months after their arrival the alliance had been arranged. Two treaties, one of alliance and one of commerce, had been concluded, as has already been related. In addition to these treaties it appeared necessary that some arrangement should be made in regard to the exact establishment of the position of the consuls in the various ports of the respective countries. And to this end the arranging of a consular convention was begun by Benjamin Franklin, in 1782, and carried on for six years, at the end of which time it was signed by Thomas Jefferson and the Count de Montmorin. But this convention, although its faults did not at first appear, proved to be very inconvenient on the breaking out of war between France and England in 1793. Under this convention and the two former treaties, Genet, the commissioner of France in America under the convention, proceeded to such extravagant lengths in proceedings hostile to England that the United States, foreseeing that if he were allowed to continue she would infallibly be forced into war with England, was constrained to ask his recall, which was granted. It was the desire of the United States to pursue a neutral policy, and such had been the purport of the proclamation issued by General Washington at the outbreak of hostilities. Indeed, it was impossible that America should again embark upon a war without practically

giving up her claims to independence and her standing as a first-rate power. But neutrality seemed incompatible with an observance of the treaties with France, treaties which had been negotiated under a very different state of things from that which in 1793 existed.

By the treaty of alliance the United States was bound to extend certain privileges to France incompatible with a neutral position, and such as would have infallibly set her at war with England. Public opinion was sufficiently on the side of France to prevent the abrogation of its treaties, and yet war with England was impossible. In such a case a position of neutrality required the constant infraction of the treaty. To this course Washington committed the United States, much to the dissatisfaction of France. There was another point. America being neutral, her commerce, as has been pointed out, suffered extremely from belligerent operations, no less on the part of France than on that of England. Such was the position of the two countries through the second term of Washington's administration.

At the time of Jay's mission to England James Monroe was sent to France to endeavor to obtain a better understanding between the two nations. He could not accomplish the adjustment of all difficulties, although, being of that party in the United States which looked on France with more favor than on England, he was able to conciliate the temper of the government and arrange some of the points of difference. But on the ratification of Jay's treaty the French "Directory" were thoroughly enraged. They held it to be an act of treachery on the part of the United States, recalled their representative in America, and Mr. Monroe was also recalled. But as it was necessary that the government should have some representative in France, Mr. Charles C. Pinckney was sent to Paris. But he was not received by the Directory nor even allowed to remain in the city. He withdrew to Holland. So affairs went on. A commission subsequently appointed could agree upon nothing, and withdrew, leaving one of their number to compromise himself by

his relations with the wily Talleyrand. We cannot follow the tortuous course of the diplomatic relations, and must be content with stating the result. Affairs finally came to such a pass, American commerce had suffered so much from French depredations, that the country prepared for war. Washington was made commander-in-chief. The army and navy were increased, and the pre-existing treaties with France were by Congress declared void. But it was by no means to the interest of the United States to make war, and Mr. Adams, as President, resolved on one more attempt at negotiation. Mr. Vans Murray, Minister to Holland, was joined by Chief Justice Ellsworth and Mr. Davie, and the three proceeded to Paris, which they reached in 1800. On the 7th of March of that year they were presented to the First Consul, and on the 30th of September they signed a convention together with the French commissioners.

The convention was managed only as a temporizing act. The main questions arising from the treaty of alliance were left unsettled. Commercial matters, about which there had been no dispute, were reaffirmed, and various matters of maritime law which had been in question were arranged between the contracting parties. But although nothing of great importance was settled war was averted; and that was a most important thing when we consider the enormous power of France during the following years, and the enormous gain which the United States subsequently succeeded in making by being on friendly terms with her. For had war come on when the Floridas and Louisiana were both possessed by European powers, undoubtedly the chances of the United States for ultimately acquiring those necessary possessions would have been greatly lessened, not to speak of the dangerous neighbors they must have been. And although troubles with France continued, the convention of 1800 at least had the merit of putting off, as it happened, from that time to this, the resort to war as a last means of arbitration.

To the careful observer of the position of the United States at the adoption of the Constitution, with reference to the

events which convulsed Europe during the twelve years following, it can hardly fail to appear remarkable that the United States, in the condition in which she then was, should not have been drawn into complications which could have ended only in war. And war at that moment, as is apparent, was impossible if the United States was to retain its position as a first-rate independent power. It appears, then, remarkable that the United States should have been able to retain a neutral position for these years, even though she gained absolutely nothing. She did, as a matter of fact, gain something in each of the three treaties of which we have spoken. From Great Britain she gained the evacuation of the northern posts; an inestimable gain, when we consider the war of 1812. From Spain she gained the navigation of the Mississippi; of vast importance in its day, though the brilliancy of the concession was dimmed by the acquisition of the whole of Louisiana some years later. And from France she virtually gained release from the hampering provisions of the treaty of 1778.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Adams, Jefferson and Madison.

Mr. Adams's Internal Policy—Election of Jefferson—His Inauguration—Barbary Powers—Burr's Projects—Their Failure—Animosity between England and the United States—Mr. Madison Compelled to Make War.

UNDER the arrangements at first proposed in the Constitution, the citizen who received the largest number of electoral votes was President, and he who received the second number was the Vice-President. A worse arrangement could hardly have been made. It is easy to see that in a barbarous or selfish time nothing could tend more to weaken the executive than the certainty that the nearest rival of the chief of the Republic was the person who would profit by his death. No such anxiety clouded the minds of men when Thomas Jefferson was the Vice-President, while Adams was the President. But it was perfectly known that these two statesmen represented the two great parties which were already forming themselves in the Republic.

Mr. Adams made a conciliatory opening address, and undoubtedly hoped, as Washington had hoped, that in his administration he could reconcile the demands of moderate men of both parties. Politics were, however, then, as has been intimated, largely governed by the changes in Europe, which were almost as rapid as those of the weathercock. France was still suffering under the mismanagement of the Directory; as bad a government, perhaps, as was ever administered by men—acting, indeed, on what we now know to be the worst principle of government. With every change, as has been seen, our envoys received new rebuffs and insults. It was certainly a matter of good fortune to America when Napoleon Buonaparte took the command, and gave steadiness, if he gave nothing more,

to the politics of the world. Before that time America and France were virtually at war with each other. In some naval engagements in American waters the frigates of the United States gained decided advantages. It was even customary to fit out private armed vessels, and at the end of 1789, beside the few public ships, there were three hundred and sixty-five privateers, mounting two thousand seven hundred and thirty-three guns, under the American flag. But the commissions of these ships authorized them to capture only armed vessels of the enemy.

All such warfare, however, came to an end in 1800, when the American envoys in Europe succeeded in making the convention with Napoleon, which has been described. A general peace was in prospect for the world, and in this peace America profited as well as Europe. But in the half war which had existed, some fifty French vessels had been taken by American cruisers, and many merchant vessels previously taken by the French were recaptured. On the whole, the firm stand of the President and his government against French aggression was sustained by the nation. But this was considered as rather the policy of the Federal party than that of their opponents.

It was in a matter of internal policy that Mr. Adams's administration endangered itself at home. By the passage of two laws, familiarly known as the alien and sedition laws, they attempted to repress the interference, which was really scandalous, on the part of foreigners, with the institutions of America. These laws were made the signal for an opposition to his home policy and to him, in which were united all the various sections which had originally opposed the Constitution, and at the same time all those persons in the agricultural or non-commercial States who were either jealous or indifferent to the maritime progress and success of the States on the sea-board. Mr. Adams himself, in his desire to carry an even hand, or to conciliate his opponents, had singular success in alienating his supporters. It was once said of him that he never turned his back on any but his friends.

The result of the election of the autumn of 1800 was consequently a change in the head of the administration, and it proved to be virtually the end of the power of the Federal party. So far separated were the States from each other, and so slow was the communication between them, that the result was long in doubt. It seemed to hinge on the vote of the State of South Carolina, and this State gave its electoral votes to Jefferson and Burr. The result was that these two, the candidates of the Republican or Democratic party, each received seventy-three electoral votes. Of the Federalists, Adams received but sixty-five, Pinckney sixty-four, and John Jay one. Under the Constitution, as it then existed, it was necessary that the House of Representatives should make the choice between Jefferson and Burr. All men knew, of course, that the people in voting had intended that Jefferson should be President and Burr Vice-President. The Federalists had taken care to cast one vote for John Jay, so that Pinckney should receive one less than John Adams. But the Democratic leaders had not ventured to risk even a single electoral vote, so that in the eye of the Constitution Burr and Jefferson had an equal right to be considered.

In point of fact, as was eagerly pointed out at the time, Adams and Pinckney represented a larger popular vote than did Jefferson and Burr; but the Constitution had, and has, no reference to the majorities given by the people; and the House of Representatives, on which the election now devolved, was to make its decision simply between the two highest candidates, who were the candidates of the Democratic party. It was at one time supposed that the State of South Carolina would give its eight electoral votes to Jefferson and Pinckney, by way of compliment to its own son. Had this critical vote been given Jefferson would never have been President of the United States; Pinckney would have been chosen, and the political history of parties and of the government would from that moment have changed.

The House of Representatives, in voting for President under the Constitution, votes, as the old Congress did, by

States, so that the smallest State, Delaware, had a right equal with that of the largest. The Federal members, irritated to the last degree that a minority of the people, as they thought, should have chosen a majority of the electors, found themselves obliged to determine between two candidates brought before them which should be President. A large majority of them determined to throw their votes for Burr. Of this determination the result was, that while eight States voted for Jefferson, six voted for Burr, while the votes of two States were divided. Balloting began on the 11th of February, 1801. No result having been reached, it continued until the 17th of February, when thirty-five ballots had been taken, all with the same result. Before the thirty-sixth ballot, Jefferson authorized his friends to say that he would make no changes with regard to public debt, commerce, or the navy, and that meritorious subordinate officers ought not to be removed merely on account of their political opinions. Bayard, of Delaware, thought it was time to end the struggle, and called a general meeting of the Federal members. The result of this meeting was that a member from Vermont absented himself at the thirty-sixth ballot, and the two Maryland Federalists voted blank. Jefferson thus had a majority of States, and was elected. The Vice-Presidency devolved upon Burr.

Jefferson proved quite true to his promises, with the exception of a coldness which he always felt toward an organized navy, and the indifference with which, like other Virginians, he regarded the maritime commerce of the country. In opposition, like most leaders of opposition, he had been eager to check the power of the government. But once in government, like most leaders of administration, he was eager and willing to have a strong national government as ever was any ruler. For twenty-four years the dynasty thus established, for so it must be called, directed the central councils of the United States. It made many errors, many of them so ridiculous that they now seem almost impossible. But as has been shown in other chapters, the nation was governing itself all the time. It was extending its agriculture

by a marvelous growth. It was extending its maritime commerce with untold and incredible rapidity. It was developing its western territory, and making itself, without knowing it, to be one of the strongest empires of the world. In this work the national government hardly ever helped, and almost always hindered; but, fortunately for the people of America, the men who made their Constitution left in the hands of the central government so little power for evil that the blunders of the central administration, while at the time they have always been matter of serious and careful discussion among the people, have in result been like the frantic paddle-strokes of ignorant voyagers in a canoe, who are attempting to force it against the current of some mighty river. In the end the country has directed its own destiny, and the follies of the statesmen who have marred what they could not mend are in general forgotten, and may be forgotten by this reader.

On the 4th of March, 1801, Thomas Jefferson was inaugurated President, the ceremonies being celebrated at Washington for the first time. The splendors of to-day were not known in the proceedings. Jefferson rode on horseback from the unfinished White House to the unfinished Capitol, along Pennsylvania Avenue, at that day very different from the broad, smooth street of our time. He delivered his inaugural address, took the oath, and retired as he had come. Burr had already taken his oath of office as Vice-President, and was presiding over the Senate.

The earlier acts of the administration were different, also, from those proceedings which have of late characterized the beginnings of administrations. Jefferson was a Republican President, his predecessor had been a Federalist; but he was true to his promises to the Federalists. The changes made in the civil service were but few. Certain appointments made by Adams, on the night before his successor's inauguration, were canceled. The commissions had in many cases been neither countersigned nor issued, though they had been signed by Adams. Other removals were made, but sparingly, and on the principle that officers guilty of official misconduct

or inefficiency were fit subjects for removal, but that men who knew their duty and performed it properly were not to be ousted for political opinions, unless persistently and obtrusively expressed. There were, it is said, but sixteen removals for political cause to make room for Republicans who desired office. The cabinet officers had been already assigned. James Madison and Albert Gallatin were, throughout the eight years of Jefferson's administration, Secretaries of State and of the Treasury. At the beginning, Henry Dearborn and Robert Smith were placed at the head of the War and Navy Departments. Levi Lincoln was Attorney-General; Habersham was for some time Postmaster-General, but was shortly succeeded by Granger. It was a cabinet of able men, and one which worked well and harmoniously together and with their chief.

The time when Jefferson came into office was, on the whole, one of political inactivity. The quarrels of Adams's administration had passed away with their causes. The Federalist party was in a hopeless minority. Abroad, affairs were at a lull, the treaty of Amiens having given a short peace to Europe.

The most dramatic event in the history of the nation abroad during Jefferson's administration was the successful resistance to the preposterous claims of the Barbary powers. For more than two centuries the enterprising rulers on the northern coasts of Africa had succeeded, by their annoyances and depredations on the commerce of the world, in persuading or compelling every nation to pay them tribute. This was what we should now call "black-mailing," and resembled, indeed, the sums which were paid to Scotch marauders by Lowland husbandmen for the sake of protection against their ravages. The new nation had found itself expected, by these corsairs, to continue this tribute; but a series of well-conducted naval operations, begun by the navy under Adams and continued with the wreck of the navy which Jefferson's policy still permitted to exist, resulted in a treaty with Tripoli, and in putting an end forever to such exactions on the part of these

marauders. It is to the credit of America that these operations began the series of negotiations, by force or by diplomacy, in which the civilized world exempted itself from such an annoyance.

These services of the American navy began in 1800. Captain Bainbridge, of the national ship *George Washington*, had been ordered by the Dey of Algiers to carry certain Algerine dispatches to Constantinople, and had obeyed the order. The smaller powers were equally irritating. The Bashaw of Tripoli had demanded a present equal to that offered to the Dey of Algiers, namely, a frigate, offering to make war were it not sent. The Bashaw of Tunis found fault because the naval stores sent in tribute were not of as high order of excellence as he desired. The Emperor of Morocco was also unfriendly. Although Jefferson disliked the American navy, it seemed the only means at hand to repress these impudent pretenders. Commodore Dale was sent out with a squadron of four ships to make a naval demonstration. The sight of the American broadsides and the destruction of a Tripolitan vessel, which proved necessary, were found to have a most soothing effect upon the ruffled pride of the monarchs of the Barbary States. Dale returned, but left two ships on the coast. In the succeeding years, 1802 and 1803, this force was strengthened, and many combats took place between it and the pirate vessels. American merchantmen were convoyed to their destinations, and the Barbary powers were kept in some sort of order ; but at home it was not thought that enough was being done, and in 1803 a new squadron was sent out, under Preble, to act particularly against the Bashaw of Tripoli. The first enterprises were not successful. Bainbridge, in the *Philadelphia*, 38 guns, ran aground while chasing a Tripolitan ship, and the ship and crew were captured. The ship was got off the rocks and carried into the harbor of Tripoli, where it lay under the guns of the castle. This disaster was in some degree atoned for by the gallantry of Decatur, who, with a small vessel and a crew of seventy-five, entered the harbor and succeeded in setting fire to the ship and utterly

destroying her. But the bombardment of the town was not carried out with vigor. It was evident that the naval force was not of the efficiency necessary to a commercial nation. In 1805 Preble was relieved by Barron with a new ship, and returned to America. The squadron now consisted of ten vessels, some rated at twelve guns and the largest at forty-four. But this was not sufficient to overawe the whole coast of Africa, and all the Barbary powers were becoming more or less hostile. In 1805 a land expedition was led against Tripoli by Eaton, United States consul at Tunis, who formed the plan of marching from Egypt overland. He desired to aid Hamet, whom he called the rightful prince of Tripoli, who was then in exile in Tunis. Eaton carried through his scheme with some measure of success. With Hamet and a nondescript army he reached the province of Tripoli. After a march through the desert, and by the co-operation of the squadron, the town of Derne was captured. This and a threatened attack on Tripoli brought the Bashaw to terms, and he agreed on peace without tribute. But Hamet was not restored. The Bey of Tunis was also overawed, and expressed a desire to send an ambassador to the United States, which was done. As for tribute, when the ambassador mentioned the subject he was refused, and did not press the matter. The conclusion to these proceedings was reached ten years later, when, the Dey of Algiers declaring war against the United States, Decatur appeared in the Mediterranean, captured two Algerine ships, and compelled the Dey to sign a treaty by which all American prisoners were set free, and all claim to tribute was renounced. With this ended the terror inspired by the Barbary powers.

The great diplomatic victory by which Mr. Jefferson's administration obtained possession of the whole of what was known as Louisiana has been described in another chapter. So soon as the treaty took effect, arrangements were made first for the temporary and then for the permanent government of the settled region, which has now extended into our State of Louisiana.

It was quite of course that Jefferson should be nominated and elected for a second term. But of course, after what had passed in the vote of the Federalists for Burr, the Democratic party did not name him as its second choice. George Clinton was chosen Vice-President, under an amendment to the Constitution by which the Vice-President is now chosen separately. In a State election in New York in which Burr had been defeated, in the year 1804, he singled out Alexander Hamilton as the object of his wrath. Hamilton was at that time a leader in New York politics, and had succeeded in dividing the Federal party against Burr. In February, 1804, Burr demanded of Hamilton "a prompt and unqualified acknowledgement or denial of the use of any expressions which would warrant certain assertions made by a third party." On Hamilton's refusal, Burr sent a challenge. Hamilton felt bound to accept it. On the 11th of July the two met on the shore of New Jersey, opposite the city of New York. Hamilton's pistol went off in the air, but he received Burr's shot in the right side. He was carried off the field unconscious, and died the next day. No death had so struck the public since Washington's. Burr fled the town. Indictments were found against him, and he sank rapidly to a low state of degradation in public opinion. He was still Vice-President of the United States, although a fugitive from justice. In March of the next year he lost even this title to consideration.

At the end of his term of office he made a journey to the west, perhaps with no other purpose than that of finding what point there was in that new region where he could reconstruct the edifice of his political ambition. In that journey, however, he made the acquaintance of Wilkinson, who was now the commander of the United States forces, and he satisfied himself that there was room for ambition which sought for much higher prizes than such as a seat in the House of Representatives of the United States. A certain mystery still attaches to his plans, a mystery born from the fact that neither he nor Wilkinson, nor indeed any of the other principal persons engaged in the affair, ever regarded

the truth as a very important matter when they made public statements. This remark includes even many officers of the Federal government at the time. What we know to have happened is this: that at the end of 1806, with certain promises of assistance in the Eastern States, Burr made a second journey down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. From point to point, as he went, he enlisted a considerable number of men, and in a flotilla of ten boats, with arms and munitions of war, he went down the Mississippi River and came within thirty miles of Natchez. Here he met, for the first time, news that President Jefferson had issued a proclamation denouncing his expedition as treasonable, and that Wilkinson, who was now at New Orleans, had addressed the Legislature of Louisiana, pronouncing this an unlawful scheme for invading the Spanish dominions.

It is probable that this is just what it was. Whether Burr did or did not intend in the future to make Orleans the capital of the new State which he proposed to form, is a question. What is probable is that he had no very definite plans, but meant to let the future teach him the best thing to do. He may have indulged in the hope, which after years made a proverb, of "reveling in the halls of Montezuma." What is certain is, that he expected the co-operation of Wilkinson, with whom he had frequent interviews in the year before and with whom he had maintained a regular correspondence in cipher. As we now know Wilkinson to have been a traitor to his country and a liar through and through, it seems probable that Wilkinson had intended to join in this expedition, and, perhaps, to contribute to it the weight of the American forces. It is, indeed, an interesting question whether Wilkinson had not been led to this view from the impression that it might be agreeable to Jefferson to have this formidable rival operating in another region. This is certain: that neither Wilkinson nor Jefferson, nor anybody else in the government of the United States, had up to this time any very friendly feeling toward Spain, or any very eager desire to maintain her hold upon Mexico.

All these are, however, questions which will perhaps never be answered. What is certain is, that the determination of the United States to arrest the expedition broke it up. The different members of it scattered in different directions. Burr himself fled across the Indian Territory, where he was arrested by an officer of the United States and sent to Washington. He was afterward tried for treason, in the first important state trial of the young nation. The trial was held before Judge Marshall, in Richmond, Virginia. Burr was acquitted on most of the charges. A new trial was ordered in the Territory of Indiana, because there the offenses, if any, were committed. Burr gave bonds in three thousand dollars to appear there for trial. At the time fixed he did not appear, and his recognizances were forfeited. The result of the trial was such as to make it almost certain that, in a government constituted like ours, no prosecution for treason can ever be so conducted as to succeed if the forms of English law are really respected by both sides. From that moment Burr disappears from our history, and it is a satisfaction that he does. He was a man absolutely without moral principle, and his ascendancy at an early period of the nation's life is a painful reminder that the men of those days were as easily fooled as the men of any other time; and that the superior moral excellence which a grateful nation attaches to the period of the revolution existed no more then than it has existed in the generations which have come after.

We must now turn our attention to foreign affairs, which hereafter involved the United States in trouble for some little time. It must be recollected that the state of Europe was one of perpetual war. France, or rather Napoleon, and England were the two powers whose relations with the United States were closest. With England the United States had the sympathy necessitated by a common tongue, a common history, a common race. For France she had kindly feelings for the assistance furnished in the Revolutionary War. But it was not her inclination toward either the one or the other of the combatants that involved the United States

in trouble. Certain complications grew out of commercial relations and principles of international law. It is now a recognized principle in public law that "free ships make free goods." That is, neutral commerce with a belligerent country must not be interrupted by the other belligerent, except as far as contraband of war is concerned. In the beginning of this century this principle did not hold as far as England was concerned, and, her fleet being absolute on the seas, her cruisers could assert any principles of maritime law that seemed good to her government. And these principles were very severe on belligerent goods carried in neutral vessels. Now, as the reader knows, the United States did a very large carrying trade with all Europe, and in consequence suffered severely. But this was not the worst. In the spring of 1806 the King of Prussia, at the command of Napoleon, excluded English vessels from all ports under his control. England retaliated by declaring the whole North German coast in a state of blockade. Napoleon then promulgated his Berlin decree (November 1, 1806), which declared the British Islands and all their ports to be in a state of blockade. A year later (November 11, 1807) the English passed "orders in council" by which all neutral trade was forbidden with any countries with whom England was at war, or with any ports from which English vessels were excluded. These blockades were all paper declarations. Hardly any attempt to enforce them was made. But a blockade in international law at that time had this effect: ships bound to the blockaded port were fair prizes for the blockader. The consequence of these European decrees was that any American vessel which attempted to trade with France, or any of her allies, Germany, or the British Isles, was exposed to capture by either English or French as the case might be. This was a great blow to commerce. But the state of things was made worse when, December 17, 1807, Napoleon, by his Milan decree, declared that any vessel which should submit to search by a British man-of-war, or should touch in any British port or pay any impost to the British government, should be denation-

alized and be fair prize. The commerce of the United States, almost the only country left neutral, was sure to suffer by these unjust regulations; and suffer it did. But negotiation was of no avail; the orders and decrees were not to be removed.

Another subject most distressing to American commerce was the British theory of impressment. It was held by Great Britain that a man once a British subject was always a British subject. From this, as a particular deduction, they held that, as the king had a right to impress any subject for service in the navy, he had therefore the right to seize any naturalized American who had ever been a British subject wherever he might find him. The result of this was that the British men-of-war would order American vessels to lie to, would muster their crews, would claim such of them as they chose as British citizens, and carry them away. The captain of a cruiser short of men would have no scruples in taking any he could get from any American vessel he might happen across. The consequence of all this was a number of outrages on American commerce. The feeling against Great Britain was exaggerated when the *Chesapeake*, an American man-of-war, was ordered by a British cruiser of superior force to give up certain of her sailors, claimed as deserters by the British captain. The captain of the *Chesapeake* refused, and the *Leopard* fired a broadside at her. The *Chesapeake*, unprepared for battle, was unable to reply. After three of her men had been killed and eighteen wounded she struck her flag. The crew was mustered, and the British picked out the men they wanted and carried them off, tried them at Halifax, and sentenced them all four to be hanged. Only one was executed, however, the other three entering the British service.

An outrage so flagrant of course excited the whole American people. It is fair to say that from that moment war with England was inevitable. Barron, the commander of the *Chesapeake*, returned to Norfolk with his miserable story, and from this moment any reasonable negotiations with England were impossible.

Mr. Jefferson was, however, wholly unprepared for war. Indeed, it had always been his political theory that wars were unnecessary, and that other methods could be found by which nations could settle their discussions.

These systems were now to be tested. So soon as news was received that the King of Great Britain, in council, had declared France and the countries under her control in a state of blockade, the President sent to Congress a recommendation for the prohibition of the departure of our vessels from the ports of the United States. His impression was that the need of the commerce of America was so great that England would virtually be starved into giving better terms in negotiation. Congress at once passed a law of embargo. This prohibited the departure of any vessels from any port of the United States to any foreign country, except foreign-armed vessels with public commissions, and foreign merchant ships in ballast. All vessels in the coasting trade were to give bonds that their cargoes should be landed within the United States. This bill passed by a vote of two to one. The maritime States regarded it as an attack upon them quite as much as it was an attack upon Great Britain. A subsequent bill compelled fishing vessels to land their cargoes in the United States.

When, a few weeks after, Buonaparte's Milan decree arrived, by which he declared all the countries of Great Britain and her allies under blockade, the President laid it before Congress as a new proof of the wisdom of the embargo. As if to show that he meant to be prepared for more active war, the President asked for an addition of six thousand men to the regular army, and these were at once granted.

Under this suspension of commerce the country lived through the year 1808. The maritime States were, of course, reduced, and greatly prostrated. The agricultural States began to find that commerce and agriculture are closely connected. The powers of Europe showed no sign of being affected by the withdrawal of a commerce which had been so profitable to America. The session of the new Congress, in

December, 1808, began by a direct attack upon the embargo. But the government was able to show that the importations from abroad had still continued, the revenue had not materially fallen off, and they had sixteen millions in hand with which to begin the new year. New clauses were added to the embargo for the purpose of enforcing it, and as the winter passed the House and Senate discussed measures for strengthening the army and the navy.

Gradually, however, the administration learned that war must be conducted by some more active methods than the starvation of its enemies; and after the experiment of a year it was agreed by Congress, on the 3d of February, that the embargo should cease on the 1st of March. The committee on foreign relations proposed to substitute for it a non-intercourse with France and Great Britain. This change of policy was a great mortification to Mr. Jefferson. He ascribed it correctly to an unaccountable revolution of opinion, a kind of panic, chiefly among the New England and the New York members. His own personal influence in the councils of Congress had now nearly ceased. At the election of the last year his own candidate for his successor, Madison, had been elected, and there was no longer any wish in Congress to favor Mr. Jefferson's personal designs. His work ended when he determined that Mr. Madison, and not Mr. Monroe, should be his successor. In fact, at this moment there was a coolness between Jefferson and Monroe because the President had refused to consider the English treaty.

It may be wondered why the United States did not go to war with France rather than with England. The reason, perhaps, lies (aside from the fact that England's all-powerful navy could enforce her decrees while France could do little) in two additional causes; namely, impressment and the conduct of the Indians on the Canadian border. Examples of each of these causes occurred in the early part of 1811. In May an American brig was ordered to lie to by the British frigate *Guerriere*, 38 guns, and a native American was impressed. This was followed by an event which appears to

have been unconnected with it in any way save popular impression. The American ship *President*, 44 guns, meeting with the English *Little Belt*, ordered her to lie to, and on the order being refused, sent a broadside into her which crippled her badly. The public, conceiving that the *President* had sailed to demand the man seized by the *Guerriere*, were much pleased at the occurrence, and looked on it as a righteous retribution for the case of the *Chesapeake*.

The western complications at this time led to an Indian war. There were at this time two brothers among the Indians in northern Indiana, named Tecumseh and the Prophet. Through the influence of these men the Indians in that part of the country became greatly stirred up against the whites, and, being further excited and persuaded by British agents across the Canada line, they resolved to go upon the war-path against the frontier settlements of the north-west country. Harrison, then Governor of the Indiana Territory, was on the lookout for hostilities. They came to a head in the summer of 1811, and Harrison, leaving Vincennes with a considerable force, met the savages at the Prophet's town on the Tippecanoe. They appeared to be friendly at first, but attacked him treacherously by night. After a sharp battle the Indians were defeated, and fled, dispersing in all directions. The feeling against England grew more and more bitter after this affair, for plain evidence appeared that the Indians had been incited and armed by English agents. The national feeling was by this time thoroughly roused against England.

Mr. Madison's position was that of a statesman who had always been subordinate to an imperious director. For such a director was Mr. Jefferson. Mr. Madison had no wish to make a war with England, but so soon as he was President he found that a new generation was stepping on the stage which did not mean to be controlled by him or by any one. At first, things seemed favorable for peace. Conciliatory dispatches came from England. The restrictions on English commerce were removed. A thousand merchantmen rushed across the ocean to engage in the trade which had been

forfeited. The miseries of the embargo were for the moment at an end. But the transient hopes of the sea-board States were soon blighted. A Tory ministry in England disavowed the acts of their negotiator in Washington. Madison and his friends proposed an American Navigation Act, which should exclude English and French ships from American harbors and give all trade to the Americans. But to this Congress would not assent. The President could not direct Congress in America, as in England the government refused to be bound by its own negotiator.

The elections to the Congress of 1811 made it clear that poor Mr. Madison, who had served one master for eight years to earn his seat, must now serve other masters still. The young blood of the Democratic party, represented by Henry Clay, of Kentucky, and John Caldwell Calhoun, insisted upon war. Mr. Madison hesitated and wavered. But Mr. Clay headed a committee which told him that he should not be the Democratic candidate for the presidency again unless he declared war. The President was obliged to yield.

CHAPTER XXX.

The War of 1812.

Meeting of Congress—The President Recommends War—War Proclaimed—General Hull's Failure—The Canadian Campaign—Actions at Sea—*Constitution* and *Guerriere*—Other Naval Battles—Negotiations—New Election—General Proctor—Commodore Chauncy—Perry's Battle for the Command of Lake Erie—Battle of the Thames—General Armstrong's Campaign—The Year 1813 at Sea—Battles near Niagara River—Washington Taken—Attack on Baltimore—Review of Naval Warfare—Battle of New Orleans—Negotiation of Peace—Effect of the War.

ON November 4, 1811, the tenth Congress assembles. The air is heavy with approaching war. The Congress in its very make up is seen to be a body which differs from those which have gone before it in the new blood infused into it, in the younger men who are seizing the direction of affairs. The young West, hot for war, sends Henry Clay, who is chosen speaker. John Caldwell Calhoun is a leader in the house, in earnest for a vigorous policy.

The Committee on Foreign Affairs at once sounded the war note, and measures were at once entered upon to raise the efficiency of army and navy. Army bills and navy bills were passed by large majorities. The war spirit was heightened by the publication of the Henry correspondence, which showed Canadian intrigue to bring about a separation of New England from the rest of the Union. On the 3d of April a ninety days' embargo was declared, as a preparatory war measure. On both sides of the great lakes diligent work was done in recruiting soldiers and building ships.

On June 1st the President sent in his war-message. He recited the causes for complaint—impressment, sham blockades, orders in council, violation of neutral rights, complicity with

the Indians. Congress passed an act declaring war, on June 18, and the President at once made proclamation that war existed. Henry Dearborn, of Massachusetts, one of the survivors of the Revolution, was appointed commander-in-chief.

The first enterprise of the army was unfortunate. William Hull, an officer of the regular army, who had served with distinction in the Revolution, was in command of the American forces in Michigan. He had been ordered to be in readiness to invade Canada. So soon as war was declared he marched from Ohio with about two thousand men, mostly militiamen, very little used to military discipline. Had the government notified him of its intention a little earlier, the issue might have been different. But in fact the English surprised the fort at Mackinaw before Hull could re-enforce it. Heald, who was at Fort Dearborn, where Chicago now stands, was directed to withdraw his garrison and meet Hull at Detroit. The Indians of the neighborhood, tempted by a premium which the English Colonel Proctor had offered for scalps, attacked the retiring party, and compelled them to surrender. This was the beginning of English victories. On the 16th of August General Brock, in command of two thousand regulars, crossed the Detroit River and compelled Hull to surrender the post at Detroit. Hull had before crossed into Canada, but had retired before Brock. He did not believe that he could depend upon the militia for service, and he knew that his officers had conspired to depose him from command. The disappointment of the nation required a victim ; Hull was tried by court-martial and condemned to be shot. Madison, however, who knew how the government had neglected him, pardoned him, as in decency he was obliged to do. Under the pressure of the same public sentiment, Eustis, the Secretary of War, resigned.

In October, Van Rensselaer, the American commander at Niagara, crossed the Niagara River and attacked the English lines, but the attack was unsuccessful, and the Americans retired with the loss of a thousand men.

On the ocean the United States was more successful. As early as the 13th of August the *Essex* fought the *Alert,* an En-

glish ship, and compelled her to strike her colors. In the next week, in a battle which excited immense enthusiasm, the American frigate *Constitution*, under Hull, a nephew of General Hull, engaged the English frigate *Guerriere* and compelled her to surrender. The battle began at five in the afternoon, and at seven o'clock the *Guerriere*, lying with her masts all shot away, in such a state as to make further resistance useless, the English commander, Dacres, surrendered. The *Guerriere* was in such state that she could not be taken to any port, and was set on fire and blown up.

In October the frigate *United States* engaged the *Macedonian* successfully and sent her into the harbor of New London. By one of the charming compensations of history, in the year 1848 the *Macedonian* was sent, laden with food, by the government of the United States to the relief of the starving people of Ireland. In December the *Constitution*, under Bainbridge, engaged the frigate *Java* and vanquished her. The *Java* was so much injured that she was blown up. It was after this action that the *Constitution* received the name which, in history and poetry, she has since borne, of "Old Ironsides." These victories were won in six months; and by the navy and by privateers three hundred English merchantmen were in that time brought into American ports, with three thousand prisoners.

Later in the year other victories occurred. In October the *Wasp*, 18 guns, met with the English *Frolic*, 18 guns, and after a severe fight boarded and captured her. The ships had cannonaded each other for less than an hour before the Americans boarded her, and when Lieutenant Biddle with a boarding party reached the *Frolic's* deck there was no one to oppose him. Biddle pulled down the *Frolic's* flag with his own hands. This was a fair victory, for the two brigs were nearly equal in metal and men. But except for the moral effect it resulted in nothing for the Americans, for both vessels were immediately taken by the British ship *Poictiers*, 74 guns, which carried them both into Bermuda.

This was a most successful showing for the navy, and it was

taken by the people at its full worth and more. The captains of the successful ships were covered with honors, received swords and gold boxes, and the American navy was exalted to the skies. By the English, on the other hand, it was asserted, and in most cases with some ground, that the victories were never gained where there were equal conditions; that the American frigates were really ships of the line in disguise; that they carried picked crews, and so on. Which amounts to this: that the Americans built larger frigates than was then the custom abroad, and manned them more heavily and more carefully.

Through the year there were efforts made to gain some sort of negotiation for peace, but nothing came of it. In the autumn the presidential election occurred, and Madison and Gerry were elected. The adminstration was in a majority in Congress, and war measures were passed, and little else.

General William Henry Harrison, afterward the President, was put in command of a new army of about ten thousand men for the service of the next year on the west of Canada. His advance was attacked in January by a force of English troops and Indians, under Proctor. The attack was successful. A considerable portion of the Americans surrendered, but were then left to the mercy of the Indians, who killed them all. General Proctor then besieged Harrison at Fort Meigs, but his siege was unsuccessful. Three months later he attacked Fort Stevenson, on the Sandusky, but without success. The invasion of Canada, or its defense, depended upon the command of Lakes Erie and Ontario. Both parties understood this, and both parties, as rapidly as possible, were building fleets. Commodore Chauncy, in April, attacked York, a frontier village now known as Toronto. In the attack General Pike and the assailing column were blown up in the explosion of a magazine. He was an officer of great intelligence, and a great loss to the American army. At the other end of the lake the English general, Prevost, attacked Sackett's Harbor. He was obliged to retire. But meanwhile the American storehouses were burned for fear they should fall into the enemy's hands.

The campaign on Lake Ontario had thus been unsuccessful for the Americans. But on Lake Erie they were happy enough to have a naval force under the command of Perry.

The English had had a fleet of no great value on the lake at the beginning of the war. The Americans had set themselves at work at Presque, Isle to build one as fast as possible. In August, Perry set sail with two heavy gun-brigs, the *Lawrence* and the *Niagara*, and seven smaller vessels carrying from two to five guns apiece. Barclay, the English commodore, had under him six vessels, and was inferior to the American fleet both in metal and men. Barclay attempted unsuccessfully to prevent the American fleet from getting to sea; they succeeded, and met the English on September 10. The two fleets at once engaged, at about eleven in the morning. The fighting at the head of the line was very sharp. The *Lawrence*, Perry's flag-ship, which led the line, was exposed to the combined fire of the English, and lost four fifths of her men. Perry himself fired the last gun, having only, it is said, his purser and chaplain on deck. Perry, on this, resolved to shift his flag to the Niagara, which was comparatively fresh. He was rowed across to his new flag-ship in a small boat. In the Niagara he at once broke through the enemy's lines, firing on each side as he passed through. Barclay struck his flag at about 3 o'clock. "We have met the enemy," wrote Perry to General Harrison, "and they are ours—two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop." The battle was hotly and well contested on both sides. The result gave the Americans the command of Lake Erie. Harrison, meanwhile, had been preparing to invade Canada. Now that he commanded Lake Erie, he pressed the English general hardly. He recovered Detroit, and followed the retreating army. On the 5th of October Proctor offered battle on the river Thames. The brunt of the battle was sustained by his famous ally, Tecumseh, and the Indians. But Tecumseh was himself killed, and the Indians and the English were broken. The Americans thus regained the Territory of Michigan.

In October, Armstrong, the Secretary of War, had compelled Dearborn to retire. Wilkinson, the western traitor, was Dearborn's successor. Late in October he embarked his forces to move down the St. Lawrence for a movement which should end at Montreal. After some successes Wilkinson abandoned the expedition, having received word from Gen. Wade Hampton, who commanded the right wing, that he would not make the junction which he was ordered to make. The year 1813 thus passed without any successful attack on Canada excepting that of Harrison. But in the western part of New York the English crossed, and destroyed several villages, among others Buffalo and Black Rock. The only American successes on the land were Harrison's victories in Michigan, and those won by Andrew Jackson, who now makes his first appearance in a military career of importance against the Creek Indians at the South.

In the year 1813, Congress authorized the building of four ships of the line, six frigates, and six sloops-of-war, besides the vessels required on the lakes. On the 1st of June the unfortunate frigate *Chesapeake* went out from Boston, under the command of James Lawrence, to meet the English frigate *Shannon* under Broke. Lawrence had the winter before sunk the English sloop of war *Peacock*, when commanding the *Hornet*. The *Chesapeake* was beaten in sight of the highlands in the Boston Bay, and, to the amazement and grief of the multitudes, was carried away to Halifax. Lawrence had rashly taken her to sea with a new crew, without experience, and, in fighting, his vessel suffered what might have been expected from their want of discipline.

The successes on each side at sea this year nearly counterbalanced each other. The American ship *Argus* was taken by the *Pelican*, and the English *Boxer* was captured by the American brig *Enterprise*, 14 guns. This last fight was most vigorously contested. Burrows and Blythe, the two commanders, were both killed. The *Boxer's* flag, which was nailed to the mast, had to be finally torn down, and the ship surrendered. In this year the *Essex*, under Captain Porter, made a

successful and daring cruise in the Pacific, which, unfortunately, did not end as well as it had begun. He had set out from Delaware Bay and proceeded alone around Cape Horn into the Pacific Ocean, where he was most successful in seizing armed whalers. He refitted his ship in Noua Keevah Island, of which he took possession for the United States, changing its name to Madison Island. He then made for the coast of Peru, where, in the harbor of Valparaiso, he met with the British frigate *Phœbe* and the sloop-of-war *Cherub*. In March, 1814, Porter, after having in vain attempted to meet the *Phœbe* singly, tried to run out of the harbor by night. He lost his main-topmast in so doing, and lay to in neutral waters to repair it. The two English ships now attacked him, and, being at this advantage, they managed to stand off and fire at the *Essex* until half her crew were killed or wounded. The ship herself had caught fire several times and had been riddled with shot when Porter surrendered.

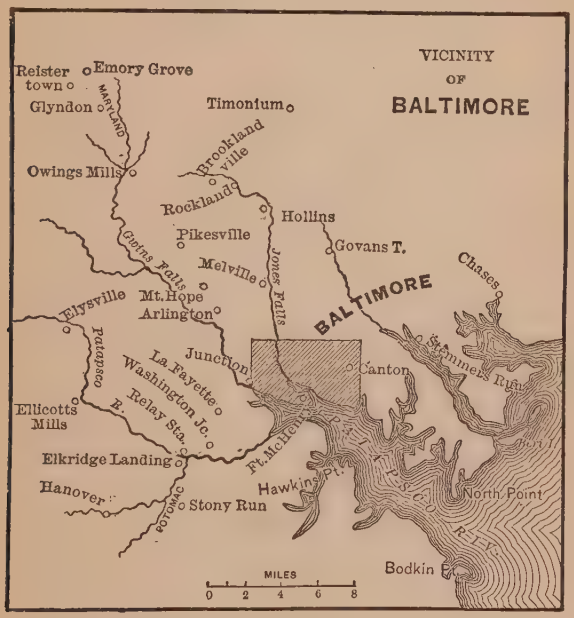
The year 1814 showed a repetition of the plans for the invasion of Canada, but with results much the same as in the former year. On the 2d of July, Gen. Brown, an American officer, crossed the Niagara River, invested Fort Erie and took it. He pressed the English force, and on the 5th defeated them after a well-fought action. But Brown had not the assistance of the navy, and was obliged to retire. It was at this time that the battle, afterward well remembered as Lundy's Lane, was fought. It was one of the hardest ever fought, considering the number of men engaged. Brown and Winfield Scott, who was then a young man, and Jessup, who afterward held high command in the American army, were all wounded. The English army was larger and its loss was larger. The American army fell back to its camp on the Chippewa. The English attempted to recover Fort Erie, and lost many men in the effort. But the English general was obliged to abandon the siege. In October, however, the Americans destroyed the fort and returned to their own side of the river. On the northern frontier of New York, where Lake Champlain makes an easy entrance into that State,

the English general, Prevost, moved southward, with the co-operation of the English naval forces. He was met by Macomb, in command of the American troops at Plattsburg, and McDonough, who commanded a fleet of eighty-six guns on the lake. The result was a defeat of the English. The American victory was complete on water and shore, and Prevost retreated to Canada.

The same autumn General Ross, with thirty-five hundred men who had had the best training which the world could give—under Wellington in Spain—arrived in the Chesapeake. Admiral Cockburn, of the English blockading squadron, was able to give him the assistance of a thousand marines. With this force he landed about forty miles below the city of Washington. Armstrong, in his eagerness to attack Canada, had done little or nothing to defend the city. General Winder was in command. He called in such militia from Virginia and the neighborhood as he could collect, and with six hundred regular troops formed his line of battle at Bladensburg. But he had no confidence in himself and, if possible, less in his troops. The only serious fighting was done by a body of six hundred American marines who for a little time held the English advance. The Secretary of the Navy burned the navy yard at Washington, and Ross's army took possession of the city. They spared the post-office building, because it contained the patent office, and the English officer was told that the models were of importance to civilization. They burned the President's house and the unfinished Capitol. Ross then withdrew, naturally expecting that some American force would gather for the rescue of the capital. But he regained his ships without molestation.

Flushed with this victory, with Admiral Cochrane he moved up the Chesapeake to threaten Baltimore. The people of Baltimore had undertaken their own defense. Under Gen. John Stricker, they moved an army of three thousand volunteers from Maryland and Pennsylvania to defend the city. Ross himself was killed by a sharp-shooter. Fort McHenry resisted successfully the attack of the enemy's vessels, and

the English enterprise was abandoned. Of this successful resistance, the memorial most familiar to the American people is the national song of the "Star Spangled Banner," which was written at this time by Mr. Key, an American gentleman who was actually on the English fleet under a flag of truce negotiating for an exchange of prisoners.



On the sea not so much was done this year as before. The British navy blockaded the whole coast of the United States, the frigates generally sailing in company for the sake of assistance in case of battle. The Admiralty had very properly issued orders that no English 38-gun frigate should engage with one of the heavier American frigates if she could help herself, and owing to these orders there were by no means the number of single-ship battles that had before occurred. The *Frolic*, 18 guns, under Bainbridge, was captured by the

English frigate *Orpheus*, 36 guns. The *Peacock*, 18 guns, met the English brig *Epervier*, 18 guns, and captured her in three quarters of an hour. The *Wasp*, 18 guns, a vessel of the same class as the *Frolic* and the *Peacock*, sailed for the English Channel, and there met the *Reindeer*, 18 guns, a vessel of weaker armament. The *Reindeer*, however, made a brave fight. After a fierce cannonade, in which the American ship had the advantage, owing as much to her heavier metal as to her superior gunnery, the ships closed and the Americans boarded. The captain's clerk of the *Reindeer*, the officer of highest rank left, surrendered the ship. The *Reindeer* gave up only to superior force in men and guns. The *Wasp* went into the port of L'Orient to refit, and issuing forth fell in with the British brig *Avon*, 18 guns. The fight began at half-past nine at night, and was carried on with great vigor till ten, when the *Avon* struck. The *Wasp* was about to take possession of the prize, when the English brig *Castilian*, 18 guns, hove in sight, and running down to the *Avon* rescued her men. The *Avon* at once went down. The *Wasp* continued on her cruise southward, but, after speaking one or two vessels, she was never heard of again.

The next year the *Hornet*, under Biddle, met and captured the *Penguin*, of almost exactly the same force. This was the last of the single-ship duels of the war, the only manner in which the little American navy could show its valor against the enormous navy of Great Britain. There were twelve of these encounters. Two of them were largely to the credit of the English: the capture of the *Chesapeake* and the *Argus*. The battles in which the *Wasp* captured the *Reindeer*, and the *Enterprise* the *Boxer*, two American victories showed by no means any inferiority on the part of the English. But the captures of the *Guerriere*, the *Macedonian*, the *Java*, the *Frolic*, the *Peacock*, the *Penguin*, the *Epervier*, and the *Avon*, even allowing for the frequent heavier force of the Americans, were victories won by superior seamanship, discipline and courage, of which any navy would be proud. More than one of these battles were fought after peace was

declared, before it had been heard of by the contending forces.

It is a sad thing to say that the same is true of the great victory of New Orleans, in which Andrew Jackson, at the head of a force of men who were militia from the States above, defeated the English army. The English had taken possession of Pensacola, though it was nominally a Spanish town, and used it as a station to fit out expeditions against Mobile and New Orleans. But Jackson drove them out from Pensacola and repulsed their attack on Mobile.

Their attack on New Orleans was more serious, as the prize was more important. At the outset, the English overcame the American gun-boats in Lake Borgne, which is one of the approaches to New Orleans. They were thus enabled to land twenty-four hundred men nine miles below the city. Jackson attacked them with about two thousand. Each side lost more than two hundred men, but there was no decisive issue to the action. The next week General Pakenham, the English commander, was re-enforced by two thousand men. In that region there are no heights to seize, and on the dead level of "the coasts" one spot is as commanding as is another. There was no room, therefore, for engineering strategy, and on the 8th of January, Pakenham, with the brute courage of his nation, advanced in two columns on the American lines. Each column was preceded by a regiment bearing ladders and fascines; midway were a thousand Highlanders, ready to support an attack on either wing. Jackson's men were mostly frontiersmen, well skilled in the use of the rifle. His artillery was served with coolness and precision. It is said that the entire van of one English column melted away before a single shot of a thirty-two pounder discharging a bushel of musket balls. Both the pioneer regiments wavered. Pakenham, Gibbs, Keene, and Dale fell, dead or wounded, in attempting to rally them. Three English officers reached the American breast-work. Two fell dead as they mounted it. The third asked for the swords of two Americans who met him, who bade him look behind him. He

turned to find that the men he thought were following him had vanished away. In twenty-five minutes the action was over. The English had lost seven hundred men killed, fourteen hundred wounded, and five hundred prisoners. The loss of the Americans was but seventeen.

This battle made the fame of General Andrew Jackson. It made him President of the United States. It gave the nation a just confidence in its power for war, properly led, and it has much to do with the birth of national feeling which, is the great and important result of the war of 1812. But it took place fifteen days after the treaty of peace had been signed at Ghent.

As has been already intimated, there was no real reason for carrying on the war after the fall of Napoleon. All Europe was sighing for peace. All question as to neutral vessels and as to the impressment of seamen died of themselves so soon as peace was gained. There were enough other questions open between America and England for diplomatic quarrel. Most of those questions have remained open ever since. But there was no question open longer worthy of the terrible arbitrament of war. The English, as has been said, never wanted to make war. The American government had only won disgrace at home by its method of carrying it on, and appointed envoys to negotiate peace in the summer of 1814. These envoys made a treaty in which the questions of boundary were determined by reference to commissions which were to lay out boundary lines upon the spot. The relations of the English with the Indians in what was still called the North-west Territory were adjusted, and the question of impressment was passed over. Christmas Day at Ghent celebrated the return of peace to Europe and to the world.

The history of this second war with England begins with the President's confidential message of June 1, 1812, and the able report approving of the war by Mr. Calhoun, the Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Relations. It closes with a treaty of peace made at Ghent, by the commissioners of the two nations on December 24, 1814. When it began,

Napoleon was in the pride of his power, starting upon his Russian campaign. Jefferson and his friends had always sympathized with the French, and had, indeed, more than they knew, been drawn into this conflict in the feeling that they had a strong ally. Before the war had lasted a year the French were in full retreat. The battle of Leipsic, in October, 1813, put an end to the continental ambitions of Napoleon, and the United States had no longer a reason for continuing war when all the rest of the world was at peace.

The war was so largely dependent on foreign complications, there was so little adequate preparation for it by either combatant, and it was really so difficult for either nation to injure the other, that with the exception of the naval battles, which have been described, and of the remarkable defense of New Orleans, it presents none of the critical events which give distinction to chapters of history. True, an English marauding force took and burned the city of Washington. But this event is only important as it taught the world that Washington is not the capital of the United States in the same sense in which Paris is the capital of France, or London, of England. The fall of Washington was as important as that of any other town of a few thousand inhabitants, and no more so.

But the war has a great importance in the history of this nation, because it proved to the nation that it was a nation, and this it hardly knew before. It tested the power of the national government, and though that government made many absurd mistakes and failures, it learned from its mistakes and repaired its failures. The navy, which had been despised by Jefferson, proved its necessity and its right to be, and earned the enthusiastic gratitude of the nation.

As soon as the war was over, the immense and rapid advance of the United States in every victory of peace and in all the lines of national life began. Parties disappeared from politics. What was called an era of good feeling began. The nation knew it was a nation. The people began to see—what more and more it knows—that its success depends on an upright and honorable public opinion, an intelligent enter-

prise, on its refusal to entrust power to any class, and on open lines of promotion.

At this era this volume of history may close. The next volume must be written when the materials are more accessible than they are now for the history of the generation still upon the stage.

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